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ABSTRACT

The monograph presents seven papers which challenge the extent to which experiential backgrounds are used in the context of the school's teaching-learning process. The first paper discusses mind sets, multi-cultural variants and mastery learning, maintaining that many minority students are victims of educational mind sets. Next, past and present research on how black children learn, and what can be done to educate them more effectively are discussed. The third paper addresses selected problems experienced by most Chicano children upon entering the school culture and presents several essential factors that, if used, will help teachers design educational approaches to better meet the needs of these students. The next paper discusses lifestyles of Native Americans from rural-reservation environments; compares achievement and intelligence potential of Native and non-Native American children; and maintains that there is a direct relationship between Native American culture and learning styles. The fifth paper suggests that differential learning styles are more related to economic status than to ethnic status and that the problems faced by poor whites are not related to learning styles per se. Working from Old World antecedents, Chinese values transformed and created on American shores are examined in the next paper. Two learning styles are distinguished from the characterological types that have emerged from these experiences: the heterodox (warrior) and the orthodox (victim). Finally, a schema for developing instructional units for diverse teaching-learning styles within multicultural classroom settings is given. (Author/NQ)

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EXTRACTING LEARNING STYLES FROM SOCIAL/ CULTURAL DIVERSITY

STUDIES OF FIVE AMERICAN MINORITIES

Southwest Teacher Corps Network

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Extracting Learning Styles from Social/Cultural Diversity

A Study of Five American Minorities

Edited by
Lee Morris

with
Greg Sather
Susan Scull

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CONTRIBUTORS

JoAhn Weaver Brown (EdD, University of San Francisco) is President of Educational Leadership Institute, Inc. in Springfield, Illinois. She is also the Executive Vice-president of Prescription Learning Corporation, an agency which develops learning programs in reading and math. Both ELI and PLC provide educational services which encompass many of the ideas shared in this monograph. Brown was formerly Professor of Urban Teacher Education at Governors State University, Park Forest South, Illinois. She was Assistant Dean in the College of Human Learning and Development in the same university. In 1975, she received the Distinguished Professor Award for instructional excellence.

Bill J. Burgess (EdD, University of Kansas) is President of the Native American Research Associates in Lawrence, Kansas. Representing Native Americans, Alaskans, and Hawaiians, the NARA asserts self-determination in three major areas; education, health, and social services. During the mid-60s, Burgess served as Dean of Students and later, Vice-president for Development at Bacone Indian Jr. College in Muskogee, Oklahoma. There he started a liberal arts program and assisted in its development as a comprehensive community college. He spoke on "Effective Parenting and the Native American Community" at the National Conference on Parenting '77, in New Orleans, averaging 45 major presentations annually across the United States. He is busy co-opting a book with twelve other authors, entitled *Anthology of Parenting* (University of Chicago Press, June '78). In November, Burgess will be a delegate at an international conference on "Parenting In An Ethnic Setting"; sponsored by the Department of Exterior Relations (Mexico), OAS, and UNESCO.

Carlos E. Cortés (PhD, University of New Mexico) is Professor of History and Chairman of Chicano Studies at the University of California, Riverside. There he received the 1976 Distinguished Teaching Award. Cortes has lectured widely on such topics as Latin American and Chicano history, Chicano culture, social studies, multicultural education, and film-and-history. He has been consultant to many U.S. government agencies, school systems and

page ii blank.

private organizations. Among his many publications are *Three Perspectives on Ethnicity: Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans*, *Understanding You and Them: Tips for Teaching about Ethnicity*, and *Gaucho Politics in Brazil*. He has written two book series; *The Mexican American* (21 volumes) and *The Chicano Heritage* (55 volumes).

Janice Hale (EdD, Georgia State University) presently serves as Assistant Professor of Early Childhood Education at Clark College, in Atlanta, Georgia. Hale is compiling a book on cultural influences on the cognitive development of black children. Her other research area is in childrearing practices within black families.

Daniel Selakovich (EdD, University of Colorado) is Professor of Education at Oklahoma State University. He has written five books and many articles on social science education and the sociology of education. *Social Studies for the Disadvantaged*, written in 1970, dealt specifically with children from lower-income homes. In his most recent work, *Ethnicity and the Schools*, Selakovich examines the educational experiences and problems of immigrants and minority groups. He is currently researching on the subculture of secondary schools. He has also taught public schools in Colorado, Nebraska State College, and West Texas State University.

Benjamin Tong holds a PhD. in clinical psychology and is on the faculty of the Psychology Board of Studies and Merrill College at the University of California, Santa Cruz. Formerly a clinical psychologist at the District V Mental Health Center in San Francisco, he also teaches for the School of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University, consults for a variety of community organizations, and holds the position of research fellow in psychohistory with the Combined Asian American Resources Project, Inc. Tong's current research interests include folk healing and therapeutic practices in American Chinatowns, long-term emotional consequences of the Japanese American concentraion camps, oral history of elderly and other Asian Americans on the west coast, and social sources of psychopathology. He has travelled widely in the Far East and is a student of Taoism and Chinese healing, and the martial arts. His publications have appeared in *Amerasia Journal*, *Asian American Psychological Association Newsletter*, *San Francisco Bay Guardian*, etc. At this writing, he is preparing an anthology of critical writings on Chinese America and finishing a full-length play.

Bette Hwang (M.A., Oklahoma City University) is a clinical instructor with the Teacher Corps project at Moon Middle School, Oklahoma City. She assists in planning and conducting workshops in the surrounding city area, primarily involved in individual/team assistance and training classroom teachers on teaching skills, strategies and curriculum. Hwang has been both teacher and consultant for Learning Centers in Oklahoma City (a Title I project). In conjunction with this consultative role, she has spoken at regional and national conventions regarding the Learning Center project and individualized instruction. Currently, she is completing her doctorate in Elementary Education.

CONTENTS

Foreward vii

Acknowledgements ix

Introduction xi

Mind Sets, Multi-Cultural Variants, and,
Mastery Learning . . . . *JoAhn Weaver* 1

Chicano Culture, Experience, and
Learning . . . . *Carlos E. Cortés* 29

Native American Learning Styles . . . . *Bill J. Burgess* 41

The Learning Styles
of Poor Whites . . . . *Daniel Selakovich* 55

Warriors and Victims: Chinese American
Sensibility and Learning Styles . . . . *Benjamin R. Tong* 70

Exemplars of Instructional Units
for Cultural Diversity . . . . *Bette Hwang* 95

Epilogue . . . . *Alfredo Castaneda* 103

Bibliography 107

Foreword

The effort to realize education that is multicultural in nature has moved ahead significantly in the past several years. Having its modern genesis in the days before and after the Kerner Commission Report, the effort has become a movement which can be traced as the evolution of a set of ideas. Contributing to the development of this movement was the advent of human relations management training in the early and mid-60s. The training was adopted as a strategy and means in the private business sector to move away from a staid Weberian bureaucratic model to a more adaptive, flexible, more people-oriented and humane set of management practices. This transition from effectiveness and efficiency to human potential and human resource in the private sector became a part of the underlying assumption for education that is multicultural. As a result, education in general and teacher education specifically began to reap benefits.

I also have attributed special education, that is the work done by researchers and special educators in clinical and sometimes controlled group settings, with helping "regular education" in the areas of personalizing and human acceptance methodology because it works. There seems to be convincing evidence that once teachers have the techniques, skills and confidence to personalize learning activities, they are extremely comfortable with models dealing with differences. The end result is expanding the range of human variability so that not only children that are handicapped but those who are ethnically, racially and socially different are treated with the same loving care that has been achieved through the clinical and sometimes controlled group settings. Once a person is comfortable with differences in people those persons who are different will benefit.

Teachers cannot feel confident about using models until they are confident that they know themselves, understand their motivations and most importantly accept themselves for what they are. It becomes easy once this is accomplished to make transitions. The movement to develop education that is multiculture, however, does not stop with teacher education or the education of children. It may just be the one handle available to provide a societal context that is responsive to the levels and degrees of confidence people have about acceptance of themselves and of others.

Power is often said to be acquired through one of three sources: family and name, money and wealth, and information and knowledge. This volume is clearly designed to enhance the latter power acquisition area. The authors have attempted to provide the reader with information and knowledge that benefits not only the reader but those exposed to the behavior of the reader. In the case of a teacher, we are talking about children who are entrusted to them as the most important product a family may provide. The authors, the Southwest Teacher Corps Network and its Executive Secretary, Lee Morris, are to be commended. It is our hope in Teacher Corps that this work will add a significant dimension to the wealth of rich resources developed over the past several years.

William L. Smith
Director, Teacher Corps

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Many minds have worked together on the preparation of this monograph. The Southwest (LOAN) Teacher Corps Network expresses its sincere appreciation to William Smith, Director of Teacher Corps, for thought provoking comments in the preface and suggestions on the book's contents. Appreciation is extended to Carl Grant for lending expertise in the critique of the papers. To Elaine Long, Program Specialist, we are grateful for her continuous interest and support of Network activities in general, and the production of this document in particular.

The production of this monograph was indeed a collaborative effort. It is with this spirit in mind that I acknowledge and thank the Southwest Network Board of Directors for their contributions:

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As a result of their daily interaction with educators at both the local education agencies and institutions of higher education levels, this Board advanced convincing arguments for the need and possibilities of including cultural aspects in curriculum development and implementation of instruction.

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The authors were invited to discuss the uniqueness of the culture in question, the resultant learning styles, and the implications which these learning styles may have for organizing classroom instruction. These writers are to be commended for achieving the task which was presented to them.

I am appreciative to Gregory Sather and Susan Scull for assisting with the editing and to Linda Green for typing the monograph.

Lee Morris
Executive Secretary
Southwest Teacher Corps Network
University of Oklahoma
655 Constitution
Room 201
Norman, Oklahoma 73019

Introduction

Since the first major court decision of 1954, schools across the country have used a variety of desegregation plans in an effort to comply with the decision (Brown, V. Board of Education of Topeka, 374 U.S. 483). However, most of the plans and the resultant research or evaluation designs have been concerned with political and structural arrangements of school populations. The focus of this monograph moves away from questions of rearranging the school population to cultural aspects believed to be important once those arrangements are made.

The issues debated in this monograph are not on whether distinct cultures exist in our society, and indeed the schools; rather, the papers challenge the extent to which experiential backgrounds are used in the context of the school's teaching-learning process. Thus, the challenges are directed toward public school educators and teacher trainers alike to consider cultural diversity in curriculum development and instructional improvement. Further, the papers challenge both teachers and researchers to set up designs which yield empirical data regarding the effect of using cultural heritage as a foundation for cognitive development.

The above challenges implicitly address the "change the child or change the curriculum" cliche of American educators. Most educators agree on (at least in part) the latter alternative and think they follow it. But the contents of this monograph argue that this is not the case in the education of minority and poor white children.

The overarching thesis of the papers begs the question, "How can a school curriculum be tailored to the needs of these children when teachers and curriculum writers know little about or simply disdain minority cultures? Similarly, how can teachers 'individualize' or 'personalize' without consideration of culture (especially during the early years) in their instructional strategies?"

A number of reasons are advanced by surveys and advocates for the decline of test scores in American schools. Aside from an attack on the validity of standardized test items for minority students, the reasons for the decline include too much emphasis on 'liberal education', too little emphasis on the 'basics', too much home television; not enough 'moral education', grade inflation in light of declining subject-matter expertise; and the like. Authors of this monograph do not question the validity of the above claims but, instead, maintain that the use of one's culture, especially for minority children, will improve their classroom performance.

The papers included in this monograph suggest that by being culturally sensitive, educators can improve their relationships with students and influence the process of learning and the cognitive and affective outcomes of instruction. Cultural sensitivity, as used throughout the text, refers to the ability to identify and empathize with the feelings, language, values, and home interaction patterns and behaviors of minorities which comprise particular schools.

There is a line of research, and at least one paper in this monograph, which advocates investigating strategies that mothers employ to teach their own young children. By identifying the teaching strategies used in the sociocultural context of the home, it may be possible for educators to incorporate them in the instruction employed in schools. It might also be possible to bridge the abrupt discontinuity that typically exists for the minority children between the socioculturel of the home and schools.

The reader is cautioned against confusing cultural diversity of minority children with lower expectations. Instead, the discussion of five American minorities are efforts to inform, and thereby, provide a cognitive base for educators interacting with and instructing these children. Nor should cultural awareness become an end in and of itself. The ultimate challenge to educators is to prove or disprove the research presented here by systematically assaying the extent to which the theories discussed play a role in the performance of minority students.

Lee Morris

As a premise, this paper maintains that many minority students are victims of educational mind sets. Often, teachers judge students during the first month of school surmising their learning capacity and what they can become. To avoid this set of expectations which creates a self-fulfilling prophecy, Brown offers an alternative strategy for providing a better education for virtually all students.

Mind Sets, Multicultural Variants, and Mastery Learning

JoAnn Weaver Brown

By the end of the first month of school, most teachers know who will pass and who will fail. Many teachers will, with great confidence, classify which students in their classrooms are fast, average, or slow learners. In addition, many will have judged who is capable of learning certain things and who is not.

This set of expectations, usually supported by school policies and practices creates a self-fulfilling prophecy such that the final grading of students is almost exactly according to what was expected at the outset. Such anticipation exemplifies the kind of mind setting which fixes the academic goals of teachers and students, reduces motivation for teaching and learning, and systematically destroys the ego and self-concept of a sizeable group of students, often members of a "minority" sub-culture. What can schools do to provide equality of results for learners regardless of culture? Is it possible for all students to learn what schools have to teach?

The research on mastery learning that Benjamin Bloom, University of Chicago, has conducted over the past decade, offers a great deal of hope for alienated minority students who have often themselves, been blamed for the lack of learning in schools. The cultural heritage of the same students, has oftentimes been labeled "deprived" or "disadvantaged" because of the cumulative deficit phenomenon they experience in school.

In his book, *Human Characteristics and School Learning,* Bloom (1976) disagrees with the widely held mind sets that the learning ability of students is fixed before they come to school. He further discounts the view that some students will "inevitably" be good or fast learners, while others are doomed to be poor or slow learners throughout their school years. Bloom states that the mind set about fixed learning abilities is not only wrong but is also largely responsible for the wasteful and destructive aspects of the present educational system. Students who are victims of educational mind sets that make judgements about what they are capable of learning and what they can become, are frustrated and humiliated year after year during most of the period in which they must attend school. This kind of systematic mind set reduces opportunity for further learning and serves to alienate youth from both school and the community at large.

The mastery learning theory begins with almost no assumptions about human capacity or culture, but attempts on the basis of empirical evidence, to establish the extent to which our present common sense and common observations about students and learning should be questioned. The theory not only questions, but discounts the "normal curve" concept which assumes that about one-third of the students will adequately learn what is taught, another third will learn a good deal of what is taught, while the final third will fail or just "get by". The major conclusion of the mastery learning research is that "what any person in the world can learn, almost all persons (95%) can learn if provided with appropriate prior and current conditions of learning" (Bloom, 1976). Simply stated, almost all students can learn whatever the schools have to teach. The theory holds promise that at any time and place, for any population of students, the schools can provide the best education for all students, if the schools choose to do so.

Choosing to provide the best of education for virtually all of the students is not a matter of abstract theory or faith. The basic ideas in mastery learning depend on observed evidence readily obtainable in everyday classrooms. The extent to which evidence is observed depends on whether educational mind sets are re-examined with a view toward being open to other possibilities. The self-fulfilling prophecy simply supports such notions as, if you think a student is capable of learning, it influences the amount of energy you will expend to teach him. If you expect a student to learn, he will. It is as if you work hard to prove what you already know. High teacher expectations, a positive mind set, has a great deal to do with what is taught, how it is taught, and other conditions for learning.

According to Bloom, one of the major elements accounting for individual differences in school learning is the way in which group instruction is used in schools. While each teacher consciously strives to provide equal learning opportunities to all students, the fact is that the difference in the interactions between teachers and students provide some students with much greater opportunities and encouragement for learning than other students. Classroom observations demonstrate that teachers inadvertently direct their teaching to some students and ignore others. They give much positive reinforcement and encouragement to some students but not to others, and they encourage active participation from some students and discourage it from others. The learning errors resulting from most group instruction determine each student's final achievement, and only rarely is the individual able to recover fully from them.

A major thesis of Bloom's research is that a system of feedback to teachers and students can reveal the errors in learning shortly after they occur. Further, if appropriate corrective resources are introduced when they are needed, the educational system can be self-correcting so that learning errors made at anytime can be corrected before they are compounded with later learning errors. Basic mastery learning strategies include group instruction supplemented by frequent feedback and individualized help. The feedback is usually in the form of brief diagnostic formative tests, which indicate what each student has learned and what is needed to be learned before mastering the learning task. These are used at the end of each week or two of instruction.

The individualized help is provided to enable each student to find a way to learn what he or she has missed. Essentially, a master learning strategy determines how individual differences in learning can be related to the learning/teaching process, reducing the amount of time required by slower students to a point where it is not prohibitively long. This means, also, that learning styles must be taken into account.

One strategy for mastery learning that may be especially useful in multicultural learning environments is to examine teaching/learning styles. The purpose would be to try to reduce the amount of time it takes a learner to master a skill by adjusting the teaching or instructional mode to match the learning style. Bloom's learning domains, for instance, are cognitive, affective, and psychomotor:

"Cognitive" learners —

can usually learn what the teacher teaches through group instruction, books and assignments. Typically the student's learning style matches the teaching style of most teachers, hence, the student achieves. Schools are usually biased in favor of cognitive learners because they learn the way schools think students should learn, and are usually the high academic achievers.

"Affective" learners —

can usually learn best through group interaction. These students prefer gathering information in conversation and they naturally talk a lot and are people-focused. Schools are sometimes biased against affective learners because they often do not conform to a quiet, and orderly environment.

"Psychomotor" learners —

can usually learn best through activity and movement — things to feel, touch, and manipulate. Schools are sometimes biased against psychomotor learners because they often do not conform to the requirement to sit still and listen.

When learners are forced to learn in a way that is not congruent with their learning style, it takes them more time. Many black and Mexican American students, for instance, do not learn fast the cognitive way (see Chapters 2 and 3). They learn fastest the affective and/or psychomotor way, but since schools are usually biased the cognitive way these students are often told to "shut-up, be quiet, and sit still" and are considered slow learners. However, if the same students are allowed to learn via instructional modes that included group interaction, things to see, hear, feel, and touch, activity and movement, i.e., experiential techniques; they would need less time to learn any skill, eliminating a high percentage of the learning errors that occur through group instruction. Many minority students who are low achievers in school and labeled "slow" are actually gifted in the larger world. When educational mind sets judge who will achieve by certain standards and make judgements about where a learner is, based on student's background, it makes it difficult to diagnose the strengths of those learners so that those strengths can be used to help them improve in areas of weakness.

The major change for teachers who employ mastery learning strategies is that they do less in the way of judging and grading students on what they have learned by a particular date. Mastery teaching does more to see that each student learns what he or she needs as preparation for the next learning task. The goal is to find strategies which take individual differences into consideration, but which will do so in such a way as to promote the fullest development of the individual.

Mastery learning techniques, over a period of time, ensure that students develop a positive view of their own capabilities. Therefore, students become more active and involved in the learning process, and teachers come to accept most students as having greater capability to learn.

When mind sets about how students learn and who can learn are reexamined, and mastery learning strategies are utilized, equal opportunity for learning does become a reality for most students. The long-term goal of course, is learning how to learn and feeling good about it, to want to learn further so that life itself can be lived more fully — that's what it's all about.

Hale presents a discussion of past and present research on how black children learn, and what can be done to educate them more effectively. Norms and childrearing practices of black Americans are traced to West Africa and are, consequently, considered a distinct subculture implicating teaching-learning styles and cognitive development.

Cultural Influences on Learning Styles of Afro-American Children

Janice Hale

He who controls images controls minds and he who controls minds has little or nothing to fear from bodies. This is the reason why black people are not educated or are miseducated in America.

The system could not exist if it did not multiply discrimination.

It is no accident that there is a blackout on the black man's contribution to American history.

An educator in a system of oppression is either a revolutionary or an oppressor.

The question of education for black people in America is a question of life and death. It is a political question, a question of power.

Struggle is a form of education. Perhaps the highest form.

Lerone Bennett

Introduction

The American educational system has a dual purpose for educating black children. The first is socialization into accepting the value system, history and culture of Anglo-Americans. The second is education for economic productivity. Black children are treated like commodities who are imbued with skills, bought and sold on the labor market for the profit of the capitalists.

The educator in the struggle for liberation also has dual purposes for educating the oppressed. The two purposes of education for the liberator are education for *struggle* and education for *survival.*

Education for struggle has a consciousness raising function for black people. This facet of education tells us:

page six blank.

who we are
who the enemy is
what he is doing to us
when to fight
when to stop fighting
what to struggle for
what form the struggle must take

Education for struggle must change the kind of black person produced by the American educational system. Carter G. Woodson (1972) wrote that black people have been "miseducated" into confusing their interests with those of the dominant society.

Education for struggle is long range, because black people must become prepared to make a contribution to a struggle that began centuries before they were born and which will extend for centuries after their deaths. Most of the alternative schools that arose during the '60s addressed "education for struggle." They were concerned with ideology, culture, values, and defining and implementing "black education." That is important.

This paper addresses the issue of the '80s, which is education for *survival.* This facet of education for liberation is the *tooling* function of education. As we struggle for self-determination, we must be prepared to survive in this system in which we find ourselves. Therefore, it is important to address the fact that black children are not being effectively educated or are miseducated in the schools of this nation. Black children must achieve competency in mastering the tools of this culture if they are to survive.

When this society attempts to come to grips with the difficulty it is facing in educating black children, two solutions are considered. One solution is busing black children to white suburbs to create a racial mixture in the schools. The assumption is that black children's educational achievement will improve by their being educated alongside white children. The other solution is to bring compensatory education to schools where there is a high concentration of lower-income black children. Baratz and Baratz (1969) call this "putting larger doses of the same medicine in a new bottle."

Neither of these solutions has been effective. First of all, the black community objects to the implicit assumption of the first solution — that something about sitting next to a white child improves the educational achievement of a black child. The second solution is no more creative. Most compensatory education programs begin with the assumption that black children are inferior. It makes no difference whether that inferiority is attributed to genetics or culture. All cultures that do not conform to the patterns of the dominant Anglo-American pattern are considered deficient. Moreover, because of the "melting pot" orientation in this country, social scientists have been slow to concede the existence of distinct cultures in this country, let alone to consider their existence anything other than deficiency. Once there was a recognition of culture differences, the "melting pot" orientation came into play and a blanket term was again assigned to define minorities. So, diverse groups were then"melted" into a group variously labeled, "the disadvantaged," "the culturally deprived," or "the culturally different."

It is hypothesized that black children grow up in a distinct culture. Black children need an educational system that recognizes their strengths, their abilities, and their culture and incorporates them into the learning process.

The aim of the present research is to describe the culture of the black community and demonstrate its effect on the learning styles of black children. It is hypothesized that there are characteristics that are peculiar to black culture which have their roots in West Africa and that have implications for the way in which black children learn and think.

The African Background Considered

In considering the issue of whether there is a distinct culture that is shared by black people in this country, the question of whether our African heritage was destroyed during slavery needs to be reviewed.

Orlando Patterson (1972) has suggested three ways of viewing black history. The first is the *catastrophic* view. This view maintains that black history in the New World is a long list of disasters and horrors caused by white oppression. This point of view is reflected in the writing of E. Franklin Frazier, Malcolm X and Nathan Hare. Primarily, they have discussed the effects of oppression on blacks.

The second point of view is *contributionism*. This view is concerned with the black man's contributions to civilization. This approach traditionally talks about the contribution to American civilization. But most play down the American contribution as irrelevant because America is regarded as a "sinking" ship. Instead, they head for the civilization "big time"... Carthage and Egypt and 'great' civilizations of North Africa and the Near East. The overwhelming drift of black historical consciousness today is toward the grand version of contributionism.

The third perspective is called *survivalist*. This view does not deny the horrors of slavery, but sees the black man as having triumphed in maintaining his Africa roots, in spite of a destructive and hostile environment. The major proponent of this view was white American anthropologist, Melville Herskovits.

Consider the survivalist perspective in the present discussion. To establish the fact that black people have a unique culture, one must look at whether the African heritage was destroyed during slavery, and, if transmitted, what the mechanisms of retention and transmission were.

It is interesting to note that when Herskovits did his work in the 1930s, it was not well received by the black or the white communities. Herskovits wrote that "scholars did not search for Africanisms in the behavior of black people because the African experience was defined as disgraceful." This society had perpetuated the myth that Africans had no culture or civilization and were swinging through trees eating each other. They taught black Americans that they had attained the highest level of culture by having been brought to America and having been civilized by the white man. In an article that was written in 1890, N.S. Shaler suggests that a worthwhile research question might be to measure the size of the brain of a native African and compare it to the size of the brain of a black American to determine whether the latter's brain has grown from his association with the white man.

With this kind of attitude on the part of the broader culture, black people were not interested in Africa and preferred not to be reminded of their African heritage.

Herskovits (1928) wrote:

> *...when, for instance, one sees vast programs of Negro education undertaken without the slightest consideration being given to even the possibility of some retention of African thought and speech that might influence the Negroes' reception of the instruction thus offered, one cannot but ask how we hope to reach the desired objective. When we are confronted with psychological studies of race relations made in utter ignorance of characteristic African patterns of motivation and behavior, or with sociological analyses of Negro family life which make not the slightest attempt to take into account even the chance that the phenomena being studied might in some way have been influenced by the carry over of certain African traditions.*

Herskovits first establishes the fact that black people on this continent came primarily from West Africa. This is based on the following evidence:

1) African retentions are most evident in the black communities of Dutch Guiana, Jamaica, Haiti, Brazil and Cuba. Intensive study of their place names, religious rites, names of gods and customs of a social and political nature shows that they can be traced to West Africa (1936).
2) Analysis of the manifests of slaving ships at the ports of Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia show the numbers of slaves carried by each vessel and the ports from which this human cargo was obtained. These data show, as Herskovits states:

> *Negroes brought to America were in the main of West African descent. For the most part, they were brought or captured along the West Coast and the Guinea Negroes were by far the most numerous, constituting well over 50 percent of the total importation (1936).*

He states further that even if blacks were brought later from other areas, the new arrivals would be acculturated into the behavior styles of the blacks who were already here.

3) In looking for retentions among blacks in the United States, Herskovits states that it will be most fruitful to study those who are lower-class because those who are in the more priviledged sectors of the society have more access to the cultural resources of the dominant group and the retentions are less pure. In the United States, in addition to the differences that are made by socioeconomic status, there are geographical differences. Fertile areas for observing Africanisms in the United States are in some areas of South Carolina and Georgia. Most retentions in the United States are not evident in pure form, but are reinterpreted because of our acculturation to this society. The student of retentions must raise his research efforts from the elementary level of description and comparison to the more sophisticated analysis of process (Herskovits, 1951).

It may be instructive to review a laundry list of aspects of black culture that reflect Africanisms:

Funerals

- Magic
- Uncle Remus
  - stories similar to the sacred myths of Africa
- Dance
- Song
- Motor Habits
  - walking
  - speaking
  - laughing
  - sitting
  - postures
  - burden carrying
  - dancing
  - singing
  - hoeing and movements made in various industrial techniques
- Ways of dressing hair — wrapping, braiding, cornrowing
- Wearing of headkerchiefs, scarves
- Etiquette
  1) addressing older people as "uncle" or "aunt" — treatment with respect of old folks, ancestors.
  2) turning the head when laughing, putting hand over the mouth, or in speaking to elders or other respected persons by averting the eyes and perhaps the face. It was thought that among black children, turning the head was a sign of inattention, but when considering its West African roots, it is interpreted to be a mark of respect.
  3) call and response between performer and audience.
- Concept of time
  - approximations of time rather than punctuality.
- Cooperation and sharing
- Childrearing practices
- Whipping
- Adoption of children
- Myths about abnormal births in the folklore of Africa and southern United States
- Child naming practices
- Religious expressive styles
- Conception of the devil

Herskovits (1958) also dispels the myth that black people accepted slavery. He recounts the numerous suicides, infant homicides, mutilation of crops, and participation in slave revolts. A people who struggle against their slave status, he argues, would be very likely to hold onto and transmit their heritage.

There is considerable evidence that supports the view that black people have been so isolated in this society that they have been able to participate in a distinctive culture. This is particularly true of the poor.

Johnson and Sanday (1971) studied the present day black community. Their research supports the findings that black people are sufficiently isolated in this society to preserve and transmit cultural patterns. They found certain themes that they felt characterize blacks. They state that black people, unlike white people, have a central theme of survival.

Robin Williams (1964) writes:

> *Blacks tend to belong to all-Negro churches, voluntary organizations, information groups, and to experience the bulk of their social interaction with other local blacks, despite possible inter-racial contacts in their work, school and shopping life.*

There is much evidence in the literature that membership in the black subsociety has an effect on a wide range of behavior. For example, Henderson (1967) presents data which show that black youths tend to perform very much alike on such measures of social performance as educational achievement, law-violating behavior, aspirations and perceptions of life chances. Even when they compared black youth from poverty and nonpoverty families, single-parent homes with two-parent homes, the trend among blacks persisted when compared to whites. They concluded that the most valid variable was participating in the black cultural system.

Johnson and Sanday (1971) state further that one of the defining characteristics between black and white people is the differential access each group has to the resources of the society. The white subculture which has free access, has created two social systems or structural arrangements of people in the American society — one black and one white. This is exemplified by a racially segregated school system, the fact that blacks live on a subsistence economy and whites live in a monetary economy, and several systems of law enforcement.

Henderson (1967) suggests several forces that keep the black cultural system intact. These are racial, mental, physical and social isolation. The system is set up so that contact between the races is minimal. This system is maintained by the external design of the system and also by internal factors operating within the black community to maintain the cohesiveness.

Cultural Influences Upon Cognition

The evidence presented suggests that black people participate in a distinctive culture. Now consider the body of literature which maintains that one's culture affects the way one learns and thinks.

Stodolsky and Lesser (1967) suggest that most social scientists are incorrect when they assume that the educational difficulties of minority groups will be eliminated by providing lower-class families with the things a middle-class family has — better jobs, education and housing. They maintain that ethnic groups have different intellectual abilities regardless of social-class level.

They conducted a study of four ethnic groups: Chinese, Jewish, black and Puerto Rican. The children were in the first grade. Each ethnic group was divided into middle- and lower-class, as well as male and female. Four mental abilities were studied. They were: verbal ability, reasoning, number facility, and space conceptualization. They found distinctive differences between the ethnic groups. Even though there was some variation caused by social class, the basic pattern of the ethnic group persisted. This finding was very surprising because educators have long maintained that social class was a more crucial factor than ethnic group membership for such factors as childrearing practices, aspirations, achievement and motivation.

1) On verbal ability, the Jewish children ranked first, black second, Chinese third and Puerto Rican fourth.
2) On space conceptualization, the Chinese ranked first, Jews second, Puerto Ricans third and blacks fourth (1967, p. 567).

Even though ethnic differences were greater than social class differences, black middle-class children differed from black lower-class children to a greater extent than the middle and lower class of other groups.

They also found that the scores of the four groups of middle-class children were more similar to each other than the scores of the four groups of lower-class children. This lends support to Herskovits' suggestion that differences in cultures are apt to be more striking among lower-class members of an ethnic group because they are not as assimilated.

Three questions have been raised regarding this research that can direct future efforts:

1) What effect do these mental ability patterns have on school achievement?

   a) Is there *one* pattern of mental abilities that produces superior school performance?
   b) Are different patterns associated with superior school performance?
   c) Are different patterns associated with superior school performance in different subject matter areas?
   d) If one best pattern is identified, should the child's abilities be shaped so that this pattern is produced or should the educational program be adjusted to fit the strengths and weaknesses of the child?
2) How long do these patterns last: Do they change as a child matures? Does going to school change the ethnic-group pattern?
3) How can educators match teaching strategies to the child's patterns of mental abilities?

This research suggests some necessary changes in the whole conception of compensatory education. Instead of trying to elevate lower-class minority children to the middle-class as an end-all, we probably need to understand their ethnic culture and adapt the education received so that it matches their learning patterns.

Culture and Childrearing

Consider childrearing practices in the black community that may give rise to unique learning styles. Nobles (1975) suggests that although childrearing practices in African-American families can be described in terms of African influences, they are also shaped by black parents' conceptions of the realities they and their children face in America: white racism and economic oppression. The black mother must prepare her child to take on the appropriate sex and age roles (which by historical and philosophical definition are flexible, interchangeable and fluid) as well as the racial role (which by social and political definition are ones of resistence, suspicion and caution) (Nobles, 1975).

Black childrearing must resolve a basic conflict that exists between the European world-view and the African world- view. Nobles describes these orientations as each possessing a "set of guiding principles, dominant values and customs and... behavioral and mental dispositions of a particular people" (1975). He describes the African ethos as being "survival of the tribe" and "oneness with nature." The cultural values associated with this world view are cooperation, interdependence and collective responsibility. In contrast, the Euro-American ethos emphasizes "survival of the fittest" and control over nature. The cultural values associated with this world-view are competition, individualism, and independence. Nobles states that the role of the black family has been to mediate these two opposing world-views.[1]

There is a duality of socialization required for black people. Black children have to be prepared to imitate the 'hip', 'cool' behavior of the culture in which they live and at the same time take on those behaviors that are needed in order to be upwardly mobile. Levine offers an explanation for the persistence of black language in the face of the strong pressure to conform to standard English.

> *Living in the midst of a hostile and repressive white society, black people found in language an important means of promoting and maintaining a sense of group unity and cohesion. Thus, while the appropriateness and usefulness of speaking Standard English in certain situations was understood, within the group, there were frequently pressures to speak the vernacular (1977).*

Levine quotes a New Yorker who described the tension many blacks perceived between peer group loyalty and the demands of the outside society.

> *When I was small and going to school, it you talked that way (Standard English), the kids would kid you, but we had a few kids that would do it, and we always kid them... There was a girl who was always very proper... so, she'd always walk up and say, "Pardon me". We'd all laugh, we knew it was correct, but we'd still laugh. Today, she end up successful (1977).*

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[1] An interesting example comes to mind that highlights the role of black women in reconciling opposing world-views. As girl scouts we were taught service-oriented courtesies such as helping the elderly across streets and giving our seats up to people who were our seniors on an overcrowded bus. I recall being on a bus trip downtown with a girlfriend and her mother, who was our girl scout leader. We were seated together and hit upon the idea that we should give some white ladies our seats since they were our elders. My girlfriend's mother sharply reprimanded us and instructed us to sit in the next available seats and remain there. Even though this was Columbus, Ohio, and we were not struggling over segregated buses, I'm sure that the bus was symbolic of the struggle over segregated transportation in the South and that accounted for her strong reaction. However, the sharp distinction that this mother drew, without explanation was that those girl scout principles were nice, but they were not to be implemented in a situation where they conflicted with racial folkways and made it appear that we were deferring to white people.

Levine stated further that:

> *The lames might be laughed at within the group, but it was they who often had the better chance of mobility and success without. Black children hardly had mastered socialization to the behavior patterns and language patterns of their own group before they learned its disadvantages and low status in the larger culture.*
>
> *Thus, for black Americans, as for other minority groups in the society, the socialization process increasingly became a dual one: an attempt to live both within and outside the group (1977).*

Black women have, in many cases, had to ignore white children rearing norms which are irrelevant to the existential situation of their children. Discouraging fights, white teachers never cease to be amazed when a black child reports that his parents told him to hit back immediately anyone who hits him. The white teacher has no conception of the kind of reality a black child has to face. There very well may be no one around to tell and a child must be able to defend himself from attack.

The black woman has made her home a sanctuary in which she has taken some of the sting out of many of the painful realities of the black experience. She has ministered to the needs of her man, her children, other women's children and the community. It is to "my woman," "my momma," that men and children have turned to have mended the wounds inflicted by this society.

Black women have been challenged to foster positive self- concept development in their children. Black mothers have kept many a child going with, "you're just as good as anybody else." It is black parents who have soothed the anxieties that arise in black children when they engage in competititon or social comparison with white children.

Another important area to investigate is the strong motivation to achieve that is transmitted to black children. Black parents have always stressed to black children the importance of excelling white children in behavior and performance, because falling short would reflect unfavorably upon the group. As children, many blacks recall being given very strict guidelines for behavior on the bus or in public because to be loud and boisterous would make white people feel that all blacks were that way.

Hill (1974) has identified a strong achievement orientation as a strength of black families. He cites as evidence the fact that most of the black youths in college come from families who were not college educated. This suggests that many black parents are sacrificing to provide a college education for their children that they never had.

Temple University conducted a study to determine what life looks like for an elementary school child (*Time*, 1977). An interesting finding was that more than 75 per cent of the black children and 66 per cent of the whites said that their mothers want them to be "one of the best students in the class."

The second category of childrearing practices is traceable to an African heritage.

Studying the strong religious orientation of black childrearing, Na'im Akbar (1975) observed that black women "didn't know nothin' 'bout Dr. Spock, but they did know the Bible — 'raise up a child in the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it.' "

Even though the strong religious orientation of black families is widely discussed, it has almost never been empirically documented (Hill 1975). Furthermore, Hill's and other discussions of the black church focus primarily upon the political role of the church during slavery and the civil rights movement. The church's economic leadership is demonstrated by the leadership of Rev. Leon Sullivan and Rev. Jesse Jackson.

Other studies of the black church focus on the emotional quality of the services and the spiritual release the parishioners receive as they dream of "pie in the sky by and by."

Very little attention has been given to the role of the black church as a socializing institution. W.E. B. DuBois (1899) produced one of the most significant works that examines the socializing role of the black church.

DuBois states that the black church is a center of social intercourse to a degree unknown in white churches. He describes the life of an individual or family that is closely involved in the church as being somehow different from those who do not have that involvement. Church membership is not limited to Sunday morning contact at worship services. It provides children and adults with a peer group. The organizations and activities of the church give black people an opportunity to provide leadership and exhibit and develop competencies that are not available in the broader society. Thus, we have a woman who is a domestic worker all week, but at church is the president of the missionary society. Or, we have a man who is a janitor all week but at church is a member of the Trustee Board and obtains experience in handling a budget and develops expertise in financial matters.

Comparable experiences are provided for children growing up in the church. Entertainment and athletics are two of the means by which black youths have been able to achieve wealth and enhanced status. However, little recognition is given to the fact that the church is the training ground for black musicians. Children gain experience and training singing in church choirs. Some move into semi-secular groups such as gospel groups, and others move directly into rhythm and blues. A case in point is Aretha Franklin, who is a preacher's daughter, Isaac Hayes, The Staple Singers and countless others.

The church is a hub of social life for those involved. Clearly black women participate in the largest numbers in church worship and activities. Often the question is raised, how single black women can manage so well in raising their children alone. The answer is that they are not *alone.* The church provides a kind of extended family fellowship which provides other significant adults to relate to the children as well as materials and human resources to the family.

The realms of feeling and effect and the cognitive processes arising from interpersonal relations may have important implications for black people. Research suggests that black people are a very emotional people. Some scholars have suggested that the emotion-charged, people-oriented quality of black expression is a part of an African heritage:

> *Knowledge in Western societies is largely derived from such propositions as "I think, therefore, I am." The non-Western heritage of Afro-Americans suggests that knowledge stems from the proposition that, "I feel therefore, I think, therefore I am." (Dixon and Foster, 1971).*
>
> *The uniqueness of black culture can be explained in that it is a culture whose emphasis is on the nonverbal... in black culture, it is the experience that counts, not what is said. (Lester, 1969).*

This does not mean that black people don't think or conceptualize their experience symbolically; rather, these scholars suggest that intellectual analysis disconnected from feelings leads to incomplete knowledge of the world (Haskins and Butts, 1973).

Many research studies have found black children to be more feeling-oriented, people-oriented and more proficient at non-verbal communication than white children. It is important to determine the implications of this on their cognitive development (Gitters, Black and Mostofsky, 1972).

Research has suggested that white children are very object-oriented. That is, they have numerous opportunities to manipulate objects and discover properties and relationships. Consequently, this society's educational system is very object-oriented. Classrooms are filled with educational hardware and technology — books, listening stations, learning centers, televisions, programmed instruction, learning kits and so forth.

Research with black children, in contrast, has found them to be very people-oriented. Most black children grow up in large families where they have a great deal of human interaction. This is an interesting aspect of African culture. While traveling in Africa, I was interested in all kinds of dolls with which the children play. African children do not play with dolls, they play with their mother's babies! This high degree of people orientation may account for the indifference with which some black children regard books and devices. When this cultural trait is acknowledged, the result will be more human interaction in the learning process.

The work of Young (1970) provides evidence about childrearing practices that influence this "people orientation."

> *Even though household composition varies widely in the black community, each is almost certain to contain many different types of people of all ages to hold and play with the baby. In many cases, the physical closeness between infants and adults is reinforced by the fact that they are often observed to sleep with their parents or either parent alone. There is a kind of rhythm found between eating and napping with short periods of each activity found with frequent repetition. This rhythm is very different from the disciplined long span of attention cultivated in middle-class childrearing and expected in schools (1970:276).*

Because the babies are held so much of the time, there is a direct response to urination and bowel movements. Hence, from an early age, there is an association in the infant's mind between these functions and a response from the mother. Consequently, when a mother seeks to toilet train the child, the child is accustomed to her direct involvement in this process. In contrast, the transition is more startling for middle-class American infants whose functions have typically occurred alone. The mother begins to interfere with the bowel and bladder functions after many months of paying no attention to them. There is greater continuity in the behavior of black mothers.

Young contrasts the highly personal interaction with the low object orientation found in the black families. She noticed that few objects were given to the babies. The only type observed were some plastic toys that may have been picked up in the supermarket while shopping. Also, when babies reached to grasp an object or feel a surface, they were often redirected to feeling the holder's face or engaged in a game of "rubbing faces" as a substitute. This inhibition of exploration is possible because:

> *there are always eyes on the baby and idle hands to take away the forbidden objects and then distract the frustrated baby. The personal is thus often substituted for the impersonal. (pp. 279-280).*

It has been reported that there is a minimal amount of verbal exchange in lower-class families. Young observes that this is because of the abundance of communication in other forms. She observed the people to look deeply into each other's eyes, not speaking, but seeming to communicate fully. She suggests that parents use this to impress a point on a child. It has been noted that black people avoid meeting the eyes of whites and this has been interpreted as a gesture of nonequality. Instead, Young suggests that it may be a noncommunicative gesture in view of the extensive communication achieved through looking into the eyes within the black group. Other forms of nonverbal communication are the mother's caressing of the baby and children sitting in a circle rubbing bare feet. Young also notes a "mutuality" in family relations exhibited in remarks that pass between mothers and children:

> *'I'm tired,' the three year-old girl complains. 'I'm tired too,' her mother responds. 'I want some ice cream,' the eight year-old says wistfully as the ice cream truck passes. 'I want some too,' is the mother's way of saying no. This echoing of words and tone of voice is a common speech pattern. One does not see mothers and children clash and contend. (Young, 1970:286).*

Young concludes that there are distinctive cultural styles that provide the milieu for the personality formation of black children.

Socialization of Males in Afro-American Culture

Researching characteristics present in the socialization of Afro-American males, Young noted the early entry into the children's gang by black children. Usually by the age of three a child begins assisting with a younger child or entering the group of older children. This process is more complete for male children. Socialization is taken over at an earlier age for males by the peer group or older brothers. There are several areas in which the male must become proficient. One is that he must learn to *walk*. Black people are a very rhythmic people and the way in which one moves expresses power or weakness through control of one's body. The special walk that black males must master has been called the 'pimp' or the 'ditty bop'. By the age of eight, a boy must create and perfect a distinctive way of moving his body. Even though he can use older boys in the community as models, he still must design a way of walking that is distinctively his own. This is called "getting your pimp together."

Another skill that is generally taught by the peer group (with supplementary help from fathers) is athletic prowess. Competitive sports are very important in Afro-American cultures. Competency in sports is a manhood rite and is very important to one's status in the peer group.

Sexual competence is generally taught by the peer group. Most black males begin sexual exploration by age 10 and no later than 13. They are judged by their peer group on the basis of their success at seduction.

Another challenge for the black male is to become 'street-wise.' This includes learning to fight. Most fighting instruction comes from within the family from the father or older brothers. The peer group is the scene of practice for those skills imparted in the family.

A part of street-wise behavior is police-avoidance. In research conducted to determine the racial attitudes of black preschool children (Hale, 1974), black preschool males tended to associate white people with the police. When asked whether they liked white people, many of the males responded that they did not like white people because the police "like to fight," "...like to kill people," "will put me in jail." One explanation for their attitudes may be police avoidance behavior that male children learn from older peers on the street. One must not overlook the fact that black parents are keenly aware that policemen watch black children more than white children and are more prone to arrest and detain them. So, the socialization they give their child has had to include attitudes and strategies that would enhance survival in a hostile environment.

Black males are generally given early responsibility to earn income for special needs of their own, (like buying a bicycle) or to contribute support to the family. Many boys by the age of 8 have newspaper routes, grass to cut, or some other part-time job.

One of the challenges that the black male must face is the conflicting images of masculinity that predominate within the Afro-American community and the image that predominates in the broader society. This conflict grows out of the duality of socialization that was mentioned earlier. However, it is particularly acute for black males. The black male between the ages of 8-15 is struggling to formulate an integrated conception of masculinity. The Afro-American culture projects a hip-walking, cool-talking model of masculinity. At the 1977 Black Child Development Institute conference, Charles Smith remarked that often black males reject models of black professional men because their behavior and mannerisms are considered effeminate. This is because they do not reflect the raunchy macho of the ghetto. Smith states further that some boys feel that they are flirting with homosexuality if they give in to the pressures of the school to exhibit behaviors they consider feminine.

An important manhood rite in the black community is"playing the dozens." This is an activity engaged in primarily by males in which usually two opponents dual verbally. Usually they make derogatory comments about the person and other family members (usually the mother). The performance of each player is appreciated and judged by the group who urges them on. This is called a manhood rite because it serves an important function. The boy must master several important competencies in order to be a good player. He first of all must control his emotions. Here, in the presence of his friends, terribly derogatory statements are made about his mother who is near and dear to him. He must suppress his emotional reaction to what has been said. so that he can think quickly and counter with an even more clever slur upon his opponent's mother. It is my contention that controlling one's emotions is a process that is emphasized in the socialization of black males. Following are a few examples of the dozens;

Your mother so old she got spider webs under her arms.

You keep on talking 'til you make me think

Your daddy was a bulldog, your mammy was a mink...

You keep on talking 'til you make me mad

I'll tell you 'bout the troubles that your sister had.

Your house is so small, the roaches have to walk sideways through the hallways (Levine, 1977, p. 352).

Socialization of Females in Afro-American Culture

Afro-American females have a very strong motherhood orientation. This may be accounted for by the fact that girls are given early responsibility for the care of siblings. Usually, the girls are given substantial household responsibilities but are not expected to earn income outside of the home. In the instances where the girls have jobs, it is usually during adolescence when they babysit or perform other domestic duties.

Facial beauty per se is not emphasized in the socialization of black females. Facial beauty is de-emphasized because the standards of beauty that are set forth by the broader society are based upon a white standard of beauty. Along with a de-emphasis on facial beauty is a strong emphasis on personal uniqueness. Style is very important in the black community. It is not only what you do, but *how* you do it. Kochman (1970) has described an important difference in personality development in the black and white communities. In the black community, one is admired for personal attributes rather than status or office. One is admired for his verbal ability, personality, wit, strength, intelligence, speed and so forth. As black people have often held jobs which offered less power and prestige, they have acquired prestige within the group through the development of personal attributes. Kochman feels that the high valuation of the person, at least in part, is an adaptation of conditions of marginality and powerlessness. Consequently, black females are not judged primarily in relationships to white standards of beauty. A strong emphasis is placed on the development of sexuality, style and personal distinctiveness. There is a kind of sexuality that characterizes the black female that is distinctive. There is not a lot of attention given to beauty potions and cosmetics. But considerable attention is given to clothes and the rhythm with which she walks and dances. Femaleness in the black culture is validated by the feedback she receives regarding her sexuality from boys.

Black females also consider bearing children as a validation of their femaleness. Consequently, there is a very positive attitude toward childbirth. This validation function may provide an explanation for the disproportionate number of births by girls in their early teens.

A study that was conducted by Baumrind (1972) at the University of California, Berkeley, identified several family patterns of black and white preschool children. She defined the parents of black girls as being in the authoritarian-rejecting category. The parents rated high on firm enforcement of rules. Black girls were expected to be more mature and conforming. The fathers did not promote nonconformity and were authoritarian in their practices. These socialization practices, Baumrind said, are authoritarian by white standards and would be regarded as change-worthy by many childrearing experts. The findings of her study suggest the opposite possibility. They suggest that the childrearing practices which characterize black families benefit their daughters.

Black females, by comparison with white females appear to possess outstanding competencies. In this study, the black daughters of authoritarian parents were exceptionally independent and at ease, in the novel, nursery school setting. This is consistent with the observations of the researcher that many of the black preschool girls carry considerable responsibility for the care of younger siblings at home, play aggressively at nursery school and yet sit quietly and attentively when accompanying their mothers to an evening nursery school meeting (Baumrind, 1972). By white standards, these young black girls demonstrate unusual social maturity and a wide range of adaptive behavior. She goes on to suggest that something must be wrong with the pejorative connotation that is being given to black childrearing practices. Baumrind further suggests that authoritarian child-rearing practices may have as their objective to develop toughness and self-sufficiency in black girls and is perceived by them not as rejecting, but as nurturant caretaking. She also found that the educational aspirations of black families was higher for their girls than those of white families.

Black females are imbued with a strong work orientation. Their socialization does not prepare them to expect a pampered existence as a housewife in a vine-covered cottage. Regardless of their social class, they are taught that they will probably be expected to contribute to the support of the family. Andrew Young once was questioned about the fabulous houses blacks owned in Atlanta. He said that they were indeed fabulous, but everyone in the houses were working to support them! One of the strengths of black families is that the black women can be counted on to contribute to the support of the family (Hill, 1974). This strong work orientation has its roots in the socialization in early childhood.

Educative Style

Leichter (1973) develops the concept of educative style. She uses the term educative style to include school and nonschool institutions. There should be an exploration of the"cultural distance" in educational values between parents and teachers. To what extent does the school reinforce, complement, contradict, or inhibit the efforts of the family and community; and to what extent does the family and community reinforce, complement, contradict or inhibit the efforts of the school. In her opinion, note should be taken of the fact that children learn from many persons as well as classroom teachers. Educators should gain an understanding of how the child moves through and utilizes diverse educative experiences over a lifetime.

Leichter warns against the current trend of determining educational policy by considering single variables and treating aspects of education in isolation. The concept of educative style encompasses the total social (cultural) situation of the individual. She describes the confusion that has resulted in these disjointed considerations of how culture influences education. For instance one group of policy makers in early childhood education will advocate removing the lower-income child from the home and providing compensatory experiences; and others will advocate subsidizing the mothers to *remain at home* with their children instead of working. Some of the extremes of this kind of debate could be averted if some theoretical perspective could postulate the best combination of family, community, and school effort.

Leichter (1973) observes:

> *In designing programs and considering questions of the most effective points for educational intervention, the issue of how individuals combine educative experiences and the styles by which they educate* themselves, *both in early childhood and later in life is clearly fundamental (p. 249).*

Conclusion

There is a need for further investigation of the mother-child relationship among black Americans. This research should have strong implications for educating black children, particularly in early childhood settings. There is a need for greater continuity between the behavior of the mother and the behavior of the teacher. One of the reasons white teachers have difficulty motivating and disciplining black children is the cultural dissonance that occurs when they behave differently from the way the children expect authority figures to behave. Black mothers tend to be more firm and physical in their discipline than white mothers. Consequently, when a child encounters a white teacher in school practicing all of the techniques she learned in college, the children "run all over her" and are labeled discipline problems.

Another example of cultural dissonance may occur when black children are placed in "open education" settings that were designed with white middle-class children in mind. As pointed out earlier, in many cases, black children do not perform well when they are expected to learn independently using educational hardware. They have the need for interaction with the teacher and other children because they are accustomed to learning being associated with intense interpersonal interaction in the family.

Through careful study of the childrearing of black mothers and the resultant learning styles of black children, we may obtain important information on how to achieve continuity between the home, school and community in educating our children.

The following essay addresses selected problems experienced by most Chicano children upon entering the school culture. To maximize Chicano learning, educators are encouraged to build upon the home culture, thereby counterbalancing the harmful effects of some school culture(s). Several essential factors are presented that, if used, will help teachers design educational approaches to better meet the needs of Mexican-American students.

CHICANO CULTURE, EXPERIENCE, AND LEARNING

Carlos E. Cortés

The 1960s and 1970s witnessed a dramatic growth of interest in educational problems faced by Mexican-American (Chicano) students. Most research and writing has focused on the conflict between the Chicano culture and the mainstream American school system... the failure of U.S. educational institutions to address the special cultural values, traits, and behaviors brought to the classroom by the Chicano student. While still in relative infancy, such research has already led to a number of reforms and suggestions for future action to remedy the educational inequities experienced by these students.

This brief essay, summarizes some of the important studies of the relationship between Chicano culture and school learning. Also another far less widely discussed topic — the relationship between Chicano school experience and future learning will be addressed. In other words, while the culture-institution disequilibrium may be a salient issue in a Chicano student's early school years, that same Chicano's school experience — positive or negative — may become more critical than Chicano culture itself as an educational issue in future learning situations. Or put another way, where a beginning Chicano student may be caught in the clash between home culture and the school institution, that clash — the school experience itself — will become a part of that individual student's culture. And if that experience is a negative one, then that student may soon become a victimized member of the culture of school defeat... with important learning implications.

For example, in 1970-1971, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights conducted a field study of schools in California, New Mexico, and Texas. Through the use of a modified Flanders Interaction Analysis System in ethnically mixed classrooms, the Commission discovered statistically

page twenty-eight
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significant variations of teacher-student interaction. These were reported in 1973 in *Teachers and Students: Differences in Teacher Interaction with Mexican and Anglo Students* (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1973). In contrast with Anglo students, Chicano students:

1) received significantly less teacher praise and encouragement;
2) received significantly less teacher acceptance or use of their ideas;
3) received significantly fewer teacher questions;
4) received significantly less positive teacher response;
5) received significantly less noncriticizing teacher talk.

There are at least two major implications of this study for teachers of Chicanos. First, teachers should constantly examine their own classroom behavior to ascertain whether they are interacting with their students in such an ethnically inequitable and educationally discriminatory, even if unintentionally and unconsciously fashion. Second, teachers should be aware that their Chicano students may have already undergone such an inequitable classroom experience and may already be demonstrating the deleterious effect of that experience, i.e., the experience of educational exclusion. With that in mind, teachers need to make continuous, extra efforts to interact positively with Chicano students, avoid contributing to these children's possible culture of school defeat, and provide continuous positive reinforcement for learning and self-esteem. Use success to breed future success; avoid providing additional defeat to reinforce the culture of school defeat.

This essay addresses six of the myriad possible topics in the area of Chicano culture, experience, and learning. These topics will be language, class participation, experiential learning, affective motivation, cooperative/competitive learning, and field sensitivity. One caveat must be kept constantly in mind. In dealing with the learning styles of Chicano children, the teacher is not only dealing with Chicano culturally-socialized styles, but also styles generated by earlier school experiences.

Language

Most Mexican Americans speak Spanish. This fact has led to the crusade for Spanish bilingual-bicultural education. Such programs seek to give Spanish-speaking students the opportunity to learn Spanish until they are fully competent to study in English and to assist students in developing their Spanish language skills... skills which should help them throughout their personal lives and careers (Garcia, 1976). While I have reservations about some of the bilingual education programs I have seen, I strongly believe in the value and potential of this pedagogical approach. Moreover, even teachers who do not work in bilingual programs would benefit from a knowledge of Spanish in order to better serve Chicano students.

But there is another aspect of the relationship between language and Chicano learning. While it is true that most Mexican Americans speak Spanish, it is also true that most speak English. And some Mexican Americans speak English with distinct Chicano characteristics. The research in this area is sparse, but scholars have begun to explore this issue with the goal of developing educational strategies which deal with the realities of Chicano English (Garcia, 1974). For example, because the subjunctive is more commonly used in Spanish than in English, some Chicanos from bilingual or Spanish-speaking homes may tend to overuse the subjunctive mood in speaking and writing English.

Insofar as Chicanos have a special pattern of ingroup English, it is a legitimate form of language... useful for communicating and equipped with its own internally valid form of grammar and usage. However, because aspects of this Chicano English conflict with common, acceptable mainstream U.S. English grammar and usage, Chicano English has its practical limitations. This situation creates special challenges for teachers concerned with maximizing Chicano learning.

First, while it is incumbent upon teachers to help all students develop competency in mainstream U.S. English, this should not be done by assaulting the culture of the child... by criticizing the home English as "bad," thereby insulting the family, reducing self-steem, and contributing to the culture of school defeat. That this culture of school defeat can dog a student throughout their educational career, even into the university, is attested to by Nathan Murillo:

> *Presently I am seeing in therapy several (Chicano) college students who are very much concerned about their lack of proficiency in English. They are afraid to answer questions in class for fear of being laughed at by other students and teachers (Murillo, 1976, p. 23).*

Students can be taught correct mainstream English without attacking the child's home culture. The emphasis should be on the positive — what should be learned — not on the negative, the rejection of a culture.

Even in the teaching of mainstream English, Chicano culture may be important. There is no one "best way" to teach English. Special techniques have been developed for dealing with the individualized English language needs of different students. While we are only in the formative stages of creating special strategies for working with speakers of Chicano English, teachers should be cognizant of these efforts in order to incorporate new approaches as they are developed.

Class Participation

Related to... and often confused with... the question of language is that of class participation. It is often observed that Chicano students tend to speak out less than other students. A common explanation is that they lack the oral language skills and English competencies of their Anglo counterparts. While these may be factors, there may be other forces at work.

In many Mexican-American homes, particularly traditional ones, children are reared with the belief that to be *bien educado* (well educated in the family sense) is to show courtesy to others, especially difference to authority figures, such as elder members of the family, priests, and teachers. As Murillo sums up:

> *There is one area in which the Anglo and the Mexican American are likely to be markedly disparate. This is the area of manners, courtesy, inter-personal relations—call it what you will. The Anglo is taught to value openness, frankness, and directness. He is much more likely to express himself simply,briefly, and frequently bluntly. The traditional Latin approach requires the use of much diplomacy and tactfulness when communicating with another individual. Concern and respect for another's feelings dictate that a screen always be provided behind which a man may preserve his dignity.... The Mexican American often finds himself in difficulty if he disagrees with an Anglo's point of view. To him, direct argument or contradiction appears rude and disrespectful.... The concept of courtesy, therefore, often causes misunderstandings between Anglo and Latin. (Murillo, 1976, pp. 16-17)*

In my own work with Chicano students — including university students with excellent English language skills — the tendency to maintain reserve and not speak out, particularly in ethnically mixed groups, is notable. This behavior may be the result of home culture socialization, the result of school experience, or a combination. In any respect, it creates special challenges for the teacher.

First, teachers must restrain what may be a natural tendency to interpret lack of active oral class participation as a reflection of language incapacity, a lack of attention, or an absence of learning. Rather it may, at least partially, reflect a culturally-trained response to group situations. If this be the case, how can teachers help increase class participation by such students?

Experiential Learning

Through personal work with Chicano students I found one technique to be particularly effective — the experiential approach to learning, involving role playing and simulation gaming in the classroom. For example, one effective technique among young Chicanos, as well as among many other students, is to have them role-play children's stories, including fairy tales. Such role-playing helps students develop not only their oral language skills, but also the habit of class participation. Moreover, role-playing reinforces success, as there are no failures or losers in role-playing situations.

In later elementary and secondary levels, Chicano students respond well to simulation games which dramatize and humanize learning by providing them the opportunity to learn by "walking in the moccasins" of others. As Christine Bennett and Anna Ochoa suggest:

> *An experiential approach is especially effective with culturally diverse groups of students because there are no specific knowledge, attitude, or skill prerequisites for the initial involvement. Students can participate in this activity regardless of their achievement levels or cultural orientation. In fact, the greater the diversity of experiences among the students who participate in the activity, the richer the follow-up discussion and activities will be for all the students (Bennett and Ochoa, 1977, p. 58).*

It is just such success activities, particularly at the lower elementary school level, which build confidence while building skills for future learning. They help to create for students a culture of school success rather than school defeat.

Affective Motivation

One of the main characteristics of experiential learning is that it is highly motivating. It is fun. It stimulates emotionally as well as challenging intellectually. This is important for students in general — what teacher has not suffered from the eternal dilemma of trying to interest students in the subject? But for Chicano students, motivation is even more important than for Anglo students. In a recent study, Raymond Garza determined that:

> *Chicanos differ significantly from Anglos in affective learning style, showing a greater propensity to learn their liked materials. The greater Chicano sensitivity to affective meaningfulness is consistent with known and speculative cultural variations with Chicanos and Anglos.... Anecdotal evidence suggests that efficiency, automation, and technology tend to be highly prized among Anglos, whereas humanistic concerns and open acceptance of affective temperament take precedence among Chicanos. Given such variations in cultural concerns, it is not surprising that the tendency to learn liked materials more readily than disliked materials is more intensified among Chicanos than among Anglos. In other words, the greater value which Chicanos attach to the affective dimension is clearly evident in their affective learning style, which reflects a great deal of sensitivity to affective meaningfulness (Garza, 1978, pp. 114-115).*

There have been a variety of efforts at creating materials and developing innovative educational approaches to deal with the affective quality of Chicano learning. One approach has been to "humanize" such normally abstract subjects as arithmetic, by using interesting stories, such as animal stories, to illustrate and create interest in the subject. Another has been to integrate Mexican and Chicano culture and heritage throughout the curriculum to increase Chicano self-esteem and interest. Finally, there is the effort to make learning more relevant... not relevant in the "hip," overused '60s deformation of the word, but relevant in the more precise sense of continuously emphasizing the significance of a learning task to the student's future.

Relevance is particularly important for students who do not come from families with high educational attainment. For students from families with examples of significant school achievement, education has built-in relevance. They have role models. They can see the connection. They see around the long-range results of education. They are raised with the concept of career. Kindergarten is simply the first step to becoming a lawyer, a doctor, a teacher, an engineer, a businessperson. Such a student is more likely to accept and play the educational game, even when it is burdensome and tedious, because this is the way to reach the inevitable long-range goals... higher education, a profession, the good life.

But this long-range inevitability is not an intrinsic part of most Chicano homes. Such role models are less likely to be present. Education does not inevitably end in success and professional achievement. Careers may be a dream, but they are not a first-hand reality. Considering the comparatively low level of Chicano educational attainment and high Chicano drop-out rate, Chicano students will likely have friends or relatives who left school early. For such students education is less likely to be viewed as an obstructionless pathway to success. For such students, immediate relevance of educational assignments to their lives may be critically important for motivation.

What can the teacher do to provide such classroom relevance? Select reading materials which relate to the students own environment, increase their understanding of the world around them, and improve their abilities to deal with that world. In arithmetic, use word problems which treat situations in which these students may find themselves in everyday life. Teachers can demonstrate the significance of general social studies concepts for the students' personal and societal lives showing the relationship between classroom subjects and the Chicano experience. The possibilities are endless. The need is there.

Cooperative/Competitive Learning

In his seminal cross-cultural comparative experiments on cooperation and competition, Spencer Kagan determined that while Anglo-American students tended to approach problems or tasks with competitive behavior, Chicano students were more likely to adopt cooperative behavior, although to a lesser extent than Mexican rural students. In fact, Anglo students relied on competition even when such competition was nonadaptive — leading to negative results (Kagan and Madsen, 1971; Kagan and Madsen, 1972; Nelson and Kagan, 1972). In short, socialization predisposes Anglo-American students more than Chicanos to adopt competitive, individualistic approaches to tasks and challenges.

The implications are that cooperative learning may be more effective in motivating and rewarding Chicano students in the classroom. In reality, most classrooms are based on motivating and rewarding students for individual activity and achievement... the fostering of individual as contrasted to group accomplishment. In other words, U.S. classrooms favor the competitively-oriented student... the Anglo student more than the Chicano student. Or as Kagan states:

> *For example, if Mexican-American children are more group or family oriented, they may be discriminated against by educational and psychotherapeutic practices predicated upon strong individualistic motivation. Understanding the social motive development of Mexican-Americans may provide a basis for more responsive public institutions. (Kagan, 1977, p. 82)*

But wait a minute! Isn't this a competitive world? Don't we have to prepare young people to survive in it? Of course... they do have to learn how to compete. But must we achieve this by forcing them to forsake the positive trait of cooperation? Maybe we should be making a greater effort to encourage and reward cooperation in all students... particularly in light of the increasing need for national and world cooperation in dealing with the exigencies of life on the rapidly-shrinking Spaceship Earth.

The use of group, as contrasted to individual, motivation and rewards and the expansion of cooperative classroom activities would seem to be a particularly effective approach to meet the learning needs of Chicano students. Beyond this, the reinforcement of cooperative behavior among all students should be a contribution both to them individually and, in the long run, to our society in general.

Field Sensitivity

Probably the most extensive and widely discussed model for Chicano learning is that proposed by Manuel Ramirez III and Alfredo Castaneda — the development of bicognitive learning through culturally democratic educational environments (Ramirez and Castaneda, 1974). Ramirez and Castaneda determined that, as a result of their culture, especially home socialization, Mexican-American students tend to have what they label as a field sensitive cognitive style (as contrasted to a field independent cognitive style). That is, Chicanos tend to have preferred communication, humanrelational, and incentive-motivational learning styles. Among the features of the field sensitive cognitive styles are:

1) preference for working with others to achieve a common goal rather than working alone;
2) the desire to assist others;
3) sensitivity to the feelings and opinions of others;
4) preference for openly expressed positive feelings for the teacher;
5) a tendancy to ask questions about the teacher's tastes and personal experiences and to strive to become like the teacher, rather than simply interacting with the teacher to complete school tasks;
6) desire for guidance and demonstration from the teacher;
7) desire for rewards which strengthen the personal relationship with the teacher;
8) more successful functioning when performance objectives and global aspects of the curriculum are carefully explained, rather than focusing narrowly on parts or details;
9) improved learning of concepts — including mathematical and scientific concepts — when they are presented in a humanized format, such as in story form;
10) improved learning when the subject matter is related to personal interests and experiences.

According to Ramirez and Castaneda, teachers, like students tend to prefer field sensitive or field independent teaching styles. Field sensitive teachers — who are most effective with field sensitive Chicano children — tend, among other things, to:

1) express physical and verbal warmth toward the students;
2) encourage cooperative learning;
3) emphasize global aspects of concepts and help students identify generalities, rather than focus on particulars and details;
4) personalize the curriculum by relating it to the experiences of the students;
5) humanize the curriculum;
6) encourage learning through modeling.

However, Ramirez and Castaneda suggest that most school curricula, classroom materials, and teacher education programs emphasize the field independent approach. Therefore, educational institutions tend not to effectively respond to the field sensitive cognitive style prevalent among Chicano students. As Ramirez and Castaneda summarize the situation:

> *The differences between Mexican American and other American cultures constitute a reality which many Mexican American children face daily. In school, they find that the expectations of educational personnel are unrelated to their early experiences. For example, the Mexican American child may go to school speaking Spanish and having pride in his Mexican background, and find that he is not allowed to speak Spanish and that his background is considered inferior. He may go to school wanting to achieve for his family, but discover that his parents are not encouraged to participate in the educational process. He may go to school with a cooperative orientation and find that individual competition is encouraged. He may go with the expectation of establishing close personal ties with his teachers, of modeling himself after his teachers, and encounter teachers who are detached, who do not act as close guides. Perhaps most damaging of all is the feeling that he must reject his culture in order to be accepted... For this child, the result is confusion. He feels a loss of orientation and, eventually rejection. Little wonder that absenteeism and dropout rates are so high for Mexican Americans. (Ramirez and Castaneda, 1974, PP. 55-56)*

In his follow-through project in Cucamonga, California, Ramirez has experimented with a strategy of matching field sensitive teachers with field sensitive students as well as field independent teachers with field independent students. Ramirez claims this matching strategy has resulted in significant student gains. However, in order to develop bicognitive functioning, Ramirez and Castaneda have instituted a procedure for training teachers in their opposite teaching style. Moreover, as students progress, they are increasingly exposed to the alternative type of learning situation. The goal is to help all students learn to function bicognitively; to be able to learn in both field sensitive and field independent learning environments.

The field sensitivity/field independent issue is the subject of considerable discussion and debate. Kagan and Buriel (1977) have criticized what they term the inappropriate use of visual perceptual tests, such as the rod-and-frame and embedded figures test, for classifying students as field dependent or field independent. In contrast, Ramirez and Castaneda have emphasized the need to use classroom observation to make these classifications.

The study of Chicano learning styles is still in its early stages. However, it is clear that educators need to take greater cognizance of Chicano culture and Chicano school experiences in designing educational approaches to better meet the needs of Mexican-American students.

This section discusses lifestyles of Native Americans from rural-reservation environments; compares achievement and intelligence potential of Native Americans and non-Native American children; and maintains that there is a direct relationship between Native American culture and learning styles of the children. Burgess discusses significant and visible characterisitcs of the Native American community, giving helpful hints to administrators and teachers when working with Native American children.

Native American Learning Styles

Bill J. Burgess

This monograph concentrates on the nature of learning styles within the Native American community. Generalizations about Native Americans tend to distort the truth due to the differences in life styles between tribes, and the differences between rural-reservation residents and urban residents. The reader is cautioned to keep in mind that this overview of Native American life is based on the typical and traditional rural-reservation situation. No attempt is made to treat the urban Native American or to deal with the middle class or professional groups.

First, this paper illustrates the distinct position of the Native American community in contrast to the dominant North American society, and how this relationship impacts the overall Native American community. Next, it compares Native American and non-Native American children in terms of achievement and intelligence potential. Thirdly, it presents an overview of the learning styles that are unique to the Native American community, and finally, it will present the role of Native American culture in learning.

Whenever we use the term Native American, we must remind ourselves that this term cannot adequately describe a 'people.' For the most part, 'tribalism' indicates pronounced differences in life styles and language.

The destructive forces to which Native Americans were exposed for over 200 years took a terrible toll. Among the effects were a variety of disruptions in tribal and family structure. Prior to the arrival of European immigrants, Native Americans had built tribal societies and traditional ways of life. Family and then tribal education prepared children for a meaningful and productive life. The principal social values of cooperation and collective organization encompassed and made possible both individual variation and tribal solidarity. In the collective, cooperative, non-competitive Native American society, the family, and through it the tribe,

page 40 blank

became the primary social organization of Native American societies.

The conquest of Native American land and its people resulted in repeated and continued efforts to bring about the disintegration of Native American society and culture. The net results of these efforts which have left Native Americans poor and powerless, speak for themselves (Wax, 1963).

> *"Per capita income averages around $1,500 per year, about one-half of the national poverty level, but individual cases are often worse. On some reservations, large families may have a total income under $1,000, and Native Americans tend to have large families. The birthrate is considerably higher than that of the country as a whole. And, the traditional extended family concept still prevails in many places. Therefore, when we are talking about such low income we may be talking about a group of ten or twelve people who must survive on these sub-poverty level earnings."*

According to a 1975 report (Zimiles, 1976) on young Native Americans and their families:

> *"...Native American people are survivors. They have survived through years of a government policy which has shifted from extermination to removal, to land allotment, to relocation, to termination which has ignored Native culture, tried to extirpate it through forced assimilation and only lately has given formal support to the strengthening of the language and cultural heritage of Native peoples. In spite of the multiplicity of problems, there is no justifiable reason why the American Indian and Alaskan Native population should not have a standard of living that provides what most people in this country consider the bare necessities of life and why they should not participate in the benefits of being in America..There is no justifiable reason why they should not have an education that honors and builds on their cultural heritage and provides the knowledge and skills that will enable them to determine their own future."*

A major difference illustrating the uniqueness of the Native American community was reflected in a letter by the Honorable Edward M. Kennedy, chairman of the Special Sub-Committee on Indian Education. In his letter which served as the foreword to the Congressional Sub-Committee report, Kennedy said:

> *"The American vision of itself is of a nation of citizens determining*

> *their own destiny; of cultural differences flourishing in an atmosphere of mutual respect; of diverse people shaping their lives and the lives of their children."*

In the body of the same report which is entitled, "Indian Education: A National Tragedy — A National Challenge," (1969) the question was asked:

> *"What happens to an Indian child who is forced to abandon his own pride and future and confront a society in which he has been offered neither a place nor a hope? Our failure to provide...for the American Indian has condemned him to a life of poverty and despair."*

Undoubtedly the impact these conditions have on the Native American community as a whole seriously alters what might have been positive influences on learning activities, both within and outside the community. A society cannot be controlled for 200 years without serious loss to its self-direction and well-being, and subsequent societal activities including education.

The Native American community has other influences that are equally important in understanding activities that impact education and learning. The Native American community must be examined in the context of the extended family. And for many tribes, matriarchal influence is a tradition.

Dr. Robert Bergman, a psychiatrist noted for his work on the Navajo Reservation, described the extended family relationships of the Navajo. He stated:

> *"One of the most significant differences between Navajo family structure and that of ordinary middle-class Americans is the relationship of the child to a number of caring people. In general, the relationship to aunts and uncles is much more important to the Navajo family than it is to the middle-class American family. A great deal more responsibility is given to other members of the extended family, and there is considerable attachment of the child to the entire group... They (grandparents) would serve as models that the children would follow in their behavior — teacher, probably the final authority to which the children could appeal. In the ordinary good family they would be the leaders of the group, and the most respected people."*

The role of the grandparents in the Native American family is unique. Native American children are taught to respect elders. The Native

American child is taught that age is a gift, a "badge of honor," if you please. To have grown old is to have done the right things, to have pleased your creator, to have been in "tune" with nature and your fellow man. In the Native American community, respect increases with age (Byler, 1977).

Older people are expected to give advice and counsel. It is expected that grandfathers will take sons (grandsons or nephews) for long walks to talk about life, nature, and self, and that grandmothers will very carefully arrange time and events during the winter to tell and retell stories of creation, culture, and relationships of nature and people. These teaching-learning activities are not happenstance or informal. They are structured and command adherence, participation, and support by everyone concerned. Parents would not dare plan an activity or event that would break these traditional relationships.

In addition, one would need exposure to Native American "values" to fully comprehend their effect on learning. The traditional Native American community places particular emphasis on the values of brotherhood, personal integrity, generosity (sharing) and spirituality. Oftentimes, values of the Native American community are in direct contrast to those observed and reflected by the Anglo community. In addition, some values not in direct conflict with Anglo practices are taught and promoted with such an intensity that the net result is almost as if they were opposites. For instance, a Native American child is taught that wealth is measured by the amount that one shares (gives) with others rather than the amount one obtains and keeps for his or her own personal welfare.

Native American parents worry about these differences, and are forced to give serious consideration to dealing with them while rearing children through their early and formative years. Parents ask themselves: Are we holding to strict traditional culture? Should we give up our traditional ways so that our children can "make it" in the Anglo world? Should we compromise, and hope that our children make it in both worlds? A dilemma is created by conflicting values between the traditional Native American society desiring to hold to what it believes, and a dominant society that has been unresponsive to these differences and reluctant to acknowledge the positive contributions of "cultural pluralism."

Observation and study through the years has led this writer to conclude that parent-child relationships in the Native American community are different from those of most other North American ethnic communities and that these differences directly or indirectly affect the learning process. Some of the more significant characteristic elements that are visible in the Native American community follow:

- Children...from birth...are regarded as important units of the family and heirs to its concerns and belongings. Children are considered...by Native Americans...as more important than material possessions.
- Songs and lullabies sung to children by the parents and grandparents carry messages of hope and aspiration, the appreciation of beauty, sharing, and physical strength (so as to be of service to each other).
- Families engage only in those social activities which include their children; if the children can't go, no one goes.
- Native American children are seldom, if ever, struck by an adult: no parents, uncles, aunts,...no adults. This custom has enormous implications in Native American parenting superiority to Anglo-American customs.
- Considerable parental time and effort is devoted to making items for children to play with, or operate, or use, in participating in popular activities and ceremonies.
  (Ex.: costumes for special dances, looms for weaving, tools for gardening, hunting, and fishing.)
- Respectfulness is taught by example as well as by precept. Respect is paid to a large number of worthy objects...parents, grandparents, members of the extended family, elderly people, various totem animals and objects, and various abstractions such as natural beauty and nature, dignity, and modesty.
- Talking loud, especially while correcting children, is highly disapproved.
- Spiritual qualities are taught and emphasized in special rituals and ceremonies.
- Artifacts (baskets, rugs, pottery, etc.) are made with *purposeful imperfections*, as a lesson to children that no one is perfect; we all make mistakes, and hence, censure and punishment are very minimal.
- Competititon is considered acceptable as long as the object is not to get the best of (hurt) someone.
- Children are taught that the land...and all that grows...are only lent to us for our care and sharing, not for exploitation.

These features of the Native American family philosophy and parenting practice seem eminently healthy, wise and useful for fostering parent-child guidance and development. They are conducive to self-confidence, serenity, and non-aggressive personality development. No doubt the above list could be extended, but the major point is that children are extremely important extensions of the family and community; there is also a tendency to include the natural needs and activities of children in the whole of family and community life.

A classic example of conflicting values between the Anglo and Native American communities appeared as an advertisement in a major periodical that dedicated a particular issue to "Effective Parenting." The journal (*Psychology Today* , 1976) carrying the advertisement, as well as the educational process described, is generally accepted as respectable and knowledgeable. Some of the key phrases from the advertisement follow:

- Keep your kid ahead of the Jones kid.
- Get him the advantage of Montesorri learning.
- Turn average kids into gifted ones.
- Your kid needs every advantage he can get to make it in this world.
- The difference between winning and losing is education.
- Make sure he doesn't bring home a discouraging report card and announce that "school is a drag."
- Don't wait another day. Time goes fast in a child's life.

It is difficult to relate, in a positive manner, the message of the advertisement to the goals and values of effective parent-child relations of any society or group. The goals mentioned, as well as those implied, are contradictory to the goals and methods supported by the Native American community in childrearing. Native American parents desire their children to be successful, just as other parents, but in a manner that is consistent with the cooperative and non-competitive tribal, community, and family values and aspirations.

In terms of intellectual potential, there seems to be considerable research to indicate that the achievements of Native American youth up to a given level are equal to that of non-Native American children. Most studies show that the two groups are equal at school entry level, and some studies reported Native American children at a higher level than non-Native American children. After that, a common pattern emerges. Native American children fall behind non-Native American children in terms of traditional scores on achievement tests. This is especially true after the eighth grade.

In some instances, Native American children at an early age have shown higher achievement or intelligence potential than the non-Native American children in their community. One particularly important study is illustrated by Erikson (1963). In reviewing a previous study that has been conducted by McGregor on the Dakota Sioux personality, Erikson stated:

> *"To settle one question, which I am sure many a reader has wanted to ask: The intelligence of the Dakota children is slightly above that of white children. Their health, however, corresponds to that of underprivileged rural whites."*

There are a number of other studies to indicate that Native American children enter kindergarten or the first grade at an intellectual and social readiness level that is equal to or superior to that of non-Native American children.

Native American children, then, appear to have equal or superior intellectual potential, at least at an early age. Marked differences between Native American children and Anglo children can be found in affective measures — such as emotions and values. In fact, Erikson illustrates the Dakota Sioux child by stating:

> *"My conclusion would be as before, that early childhood among the Dakota...is a relatively rich and spontaneous existence which permits the school child to emerge from the family with a relative integration, i.e., with much trust, a little autonomy, and some initiative."*

An important comparative study of Native American children and others, was undertaken by Havighurst and Neugarten (1955). Their work studied the moral, emotional, and intellectual development of Native American children in six Native American tribes. The study included one thousand children aged 6 to 18. A similar control group of white children was also studied.

The primary instrument utilized was the *Emotional Response Test* developed by K. R. Stewart. The test asks for open-ended responses to questions about children's feelings about happiness, sadness, fear, anger, shame, and the best and worst things that could happen to them. In this particular study, the Anglo children were asked to write responses in a group test setting. The Native American children were interviewed, and translation from English to a Native American language was often necessary.

This study revealed several differences in the emotional character of

Native American and Anglo children, differences with roots in the culture of the two societies.

Anglo children were more concerned about their personal achievement, were more self-centered in describing happiness and pleasure, and were more troubled about getting their own way. They were less concerned about property and possessions, possibly an indication of their relative wealth. The possession of food and clothing was an important factor in the daily lives of the Native American children, while Anglos probably took these essentials for granted.

An interesting difference was reported as a result of a measure of children's feelings about "shame." Answers for both groups tended to center around two basic interpretations of the word "shame": "embarrassment" and "guilt." More Native Americans than Anglos reported shameful incidences in which they were simply embarrassed, such as falling down in public or doing something awkward in front of others. Anglo children, on the other hand, tended to associate shame with their own guilt — bad judgement, moral wrongs, transgressions for which they were caught. This behavior is consistent with the methods of control of children as practiced by Native Americans versus Anglos. For Native Americans, warnings about the consequences of bad behavior are couched in community terms like, "What will people say — they will laugh at you." Rarely is a threat of physical punishment made. Shame, otherwise known as embarrassment, is a common disciplinary tool with Native Americans.

Of significant importance were the differences in attitudes about family, as revealed by the Emotional Response Test. The study revealed that community members play a greater part in producing both pleasant and unpleasant emotions in Native American children. Both nuclear and extended families played a greater part in the statements about happiness, sadness, and the best and worst things in their lives. Anglo children did associate family members with their feelings, but were much more likely to associate them with punishment or negative emotions. Apparently the Native American community, outside of the family, has considerable influence on children, and Native American parents are less likely to be thought of in terms of punishment or unpleasantness.

In a study of the Hopi child, Dennis (1940) reflected:

> *"It seemed to us that the absence of a culturally determined goal of power and prestige has its effects upon the younger members of the community as well as the adults. We thought we saw less rivalry among Indian children, and less desire to be important, superior, and distinguished. This does not mean, however, that Hopi children make*

> *no invidious comparisons...but the ridicule which they deal out is likely to be turned against the individual who tries to excell as against one who is aberrant in some other way...Another guess which we hazard with respect to the Hopi child is that he has a world which he knows intimately and which accepts him completely...while the child may early learn the unfriendliness of the climate and the danger of starvation which faces the entire village, he lives in a social world in which he has an indubitable place."*

Another important work is that of Beuf (1977). Beuf, in her work, studied Native American youngsters and their development of racial attitudes in light of four concepts: institutional racism, nonconscience ideology, the principle of constancy, and associatedness.

Beuf's research was conducted during the summer and fall of 1971 with preschool children from the southwestern and midwestern United States; a total of 229 children took part in the study, 134 Native Americans, and 95 Anglo children from the Midwest and Southwest.

In summarizing her findings, Beuf reported the Midwestern and Southwestern young non-Native American children tend to portray a rather placid and comfortable attitude in all four concept areas, while Native American children tend to tell stories and enact dramas which reflect the realities of their lives. The social hierarchies which are both cause and consequence of the physical circumstances of their life did not escape the attention and comprehension of the Native American youngsters.

Beuf also reported that Native American children, at the 5 to 6 year old level, for the most part, were similar to non-Native American children of the same age in identifying racial preferences. She found that Native American children would select a "white" doll as often as they might a "red" or "brown" doll to play with. A dramatic difference was observed in testing Native American and non-Native American youngsters in the early adolescence years. Native American children appeared to be considerably more sensitive to race and subsequent resulting relationships than their non-Native American counterparts in the study.

From these examples, it would appear that Native American children are different. In positive instances it might be concluded that this could be due to the pleasant and wholesome environment directly associated with good parent-child relations. Other differences, particularly negative, are due in part to the social and political burdens borne by the ethnic minorities of this country.

In identifying the learning styles of Native American children it is important to understand the dynamics of the school-culture-learning context many minority children face. This situation was aptly described by Sierra (1973) in a statement concerning the problems of Mexican American children. The statement is equally descriptive and appropriate in describing conditions that confront Native American children.

> *"...he comes to school with a language that has served him quite well for the first five years and with possibly some knowledge of English. He has grown up in a...family with traditional values unique to this culture and has been socialized in this culture. He goes to a school which reflects the values of the dominant society. This child comes in having a different language and a different culture from that of the school. He finds himself in a strange and threatening situation, not only with the need to master a new language, but to make immediate use of it in order to function as a student. Moreover, many of the social relationships and cultural attitudes on which the total program is based are completely outside his experience since the schools have made no attempts to use the wealth of experience he brings with him. The erroneous assumption is made that this child has existed in a cultural vacuum prior to the time he entered school. As the child moves on through school, the misconception continues that when he leaves the school he goes out into his neighborhood and into another cultural vacuum. There is little or no acknowledgment of the cultural values, experience, and background that the child already possesses.*
>
> *At the same time, because the school has failed to match the methods and curriculum to the child's language, cultural background, and learning this child comes to be regarded as deficient."*

Public education tends to favor a teaching style that is more appropriate for children oriented to the utilization of cognitive skills than the use of affect. Cognition, at large, covers the range of intellectual abilities we employ when solving problems. Some cognitive skills are memory, classification, and the convergent mental production of correct solutions to problems. Also included are creative and evaluative skills. Basically, cognition is the mental process used in assimilating, organizing, using and transforming objective information.

Affect is best seen as subjective judgments. Affective components of thought include feelings, attitudes, opinions and any other types of subjective judgments we make. While cognitive skills have long been emphasized in education, affective skills are just beginning to receive recognition. In a sense this is ironic, because we know that an individual's attitudinal approach to a situation will largely determine his or her ability to use cognitive skills. This is consistent with findings from research in the areas of motivation and approach-avoidance tendencies.

Generally, Native American children are highly affective in their approach to learning. This is the result of a learning process deeply influenced by the culture of Native Americans. Some items that impact the learning styles of Native Americans are illustrated below.

- Years of control have created a psychological dependence that makes it difficult to relate to a highly logical (cognitive) and objective format when making decisions or solving problems.
- Native American philosophy is based on a completeness, wholeness. One must be in tune with creation, nature, man.
- Native American teaching is based on example rather than teaching by precept. It requires feeling, attitudes, and opinions.
- Native American lifestyles are centered around non-competitive and cooperative social values.
- Native American teachers (parents and grandparents) center learning activities around the child and his/her state of readiness rather than around a formal structure that places emphasis on the teacher rather than on the learner.
- In some instances Native American tribal leaders believe that Anglo education has been detrimental to tribal progress; in some cases, destructive. (This varies from an attitude that the government made us this way, so the government can just continue to take care of us, to a degree where some traditional leaders trace the breakdown of community and family structure to the period of time when Anglo educators arrived and started a school.)
- In many instances tribal leaders and family members do not view formal education as a way to a better life.

It is important for educators to understand that most Native American children are highly affective in learning approach, and that it is crucial to accommodate to this in reaching children. It is equally important to design learning situations that will assist Native American children in the development of cognitive skills. Hopefully, this can be accomplished without alienating the children involved.

In addition to an understanding of the impact of an"affective" conditioned Native American child attending a school that has traditionally favored a teaching style that rewards the utilization of cognitive skills, there are some items that administrators and teachers can be aware of in working with Native American children.

- Many Native American children do not use English as a first language. More than one-half of Native American children between the ages of 6 and 18 use their tribal language.
- Many Native American children will "think" or"conceptualize" in their tribal language and culture. English words very often convey a distinctly different, and sometimes a more limited, message.
- Native American children are more likely to feel worthy and accepted in a family (extended) relationship than in a typical school or classroom situation.
- Native American children usually prefer a quiet or private type of recognition rather than a public demonstration where he/she is singled out.
- As a result of familiarity with a tribal language and/or having learned English in an improper context, Native American children may use shorter sentences and omit adjectives as well as have trouble using the correct English verb.
- Native American children will probably respond better to a child-centered rather than a task-centered approach.

Culture influences all aspects of learning. Language cannot be separated from culture. But neither can culture be separated from education, for it is through the cultural background and experiences that a student perceives self, peers, teachers, and what education has to offer.

Instruction in language and culture is the most misinterpreted and misunderstood aspect of a curriculum. No doubt the term "culture" and its implications as a teachable item creates anxiety for an instructor who is only mildly acquainted with the local culture. Unfortunately, many instructors ignore culture and its impact on learning both in "content" and "style," rather than devising methods and techniques through which culturally diverse individuals approach problem solving.

It is important to accept, understand, and appreciate the fact that persons from different backgrounds, or cultures, serve as valuable models of diverse life styles and experiences and, implemented in the curriculum, culture can become an important aspect of the instructional plan.

When working with Native American children, some items that might be helpful for accommodating the culture are:

- Native American children need opportunities to use the language they bring to school. Only after they are aware of the potential of their own language and feel free to use it, can they develop new and more effective patterns of communication.
- Native American children need relevance and high interest potential in the content they react to when speaking, reading, writing, or listening.
- Native American children need support from parents and other community members involved in the school program. These interested adults can be sources of information and expertise relative to the school curriculum.
- Native American children need instructional strategies and activities that more closely match their past experiences and interactions with adults.
- All children need to know and understand important similarities and differences among the varied cultural backgrounds of their classmates.

If we are to be successful in teaching Native American children, we must develop an approach that utilizes culture and connects it to the other fields of learning. Acceptance of a tribal culture by an instructor will go a long way toward creating a suitable climate for learning. No doubt parents and tribal leaders will come closer to lending their support to a school that illustrates its respect for tribal culture.

The development of a positive self-image by Native American children consists of complex patterns of interaction with his/her community. Recognition and respect for the tribal culture by the school can bestow dignity upon the culture and heavily impact the development of positive self-images by the children who must relate to both the tribal culture and the school.

While there is a generous volume of literature on the learning styles of minority and ethnic groups, there is little research on the learning styles of poor whites. This paper not only suggests that differential learning styles are more related to economic status than to ethnic status, but the problems faced by poor whites are not related to learning styles *per se*. Instead, the cause for problems faced by poor whites (and others) is laid squarely at the steps of the school.

THE LEARNING STYLE OF POOR WHITES

by

Daniel Selakovich

Two-thirds of the poor children in American schools are white. Most poor white children who are in school are having various kinds of problems. Many drop out early; the girls often because they are pregnant, the boys to take a dead-end low paying job. Many of the children of the white poor wind up on welfare, or worse, suffer in pride without it. This paper is a brief look at the condition of poor whites and the school problems of white children who are poor.

Unfortunately, not very many researchers are interested in poor whites. Plenty of material is available on white ethnic groups, most of whom are not poor, and volumes on specific minorities but virtually nothing on poor white students. This was dramatically illustrated by an ERIC search on the topic. The search yielded 899 items on the descriptors: "learning style, disadvantaged youth." When the word "white" was added, only one study appeared and its major thrust was not the learning style of poor whites, but a general study of minority groups with learning difficulties.

This neglect takes on great significance in view of the fact that poor whites constitute the single largest group of neglected Americans. This neglect takes on even greater importance as one considers the kind of emphasis which is being placed on identifiable minority groups who are poor. At least they have an identity, and some insist cultures, which can and should be preserved. Herein lies the great and perhaps fatal flaw in the whole multicultural movement. The largest group of all who need identity, security and special treatment have no identity. Cultural pluralists argue that we should respect minority cultures. That among other things, such respect helps the poor survive. Where does this leave the largest group of

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poor in America? Overwhelmingly the poor whites are not even identifiable as ethnics. What culture do they have to celebrate? The culture of poverty?

A caveat is necessary at the outset. The position of this author, unlike some of the others in this monograph, is that being poor has a certain universal quality about it. All poor people share many things regardless of their place of residence, whether they were the first inhabitants of this country or the most recent immigrants from Mexico. There is, in the view of this author, a culture of poverty in the United States which is shared by millions of blacks, Chicanos, Indians and whites. Although this paper deals with school problems of poor white children, the commonalities between poor whites, blacks, Chicanos, Indians and Asian-Americans, are much greater than their differences. Even more significant, all poor groups have more in common with each other than they have with middle class people from their own groups.

These commonalities include many things, not the least of which is prejudice directed toward them by those who are better off. There was a certain basic honesty to the description of poor whites provided by Norma Lee Browning in the Chicago Tribune in the late 1950's:

> *"They're American-born white skinned natives, with no racial, religious, or language characteristics (except southern accents) to set them apart as an ethnic group. Yet as a group with specific, recognizable culture patterns that are completely alien to urban life, they pose one of the most serious problems in Chicago's projected plans for industrial expansion...the so-called poor white migrant with low educational background who shirks responsibility in his new surroundings is causing trouble. This type is commonly called "hilbilly" (Browning, 1957).*

In most places, being a poor white kid is being hated. Hated by the teacher, school officials, other students and most "respectable" people in the community. The victims are easy enough to identify. Most poor white children are easy to spot as minority children. They look different. The middle-class children, white, black, and Chicano are dressing up. They are getting their hair styled. Their clothes are casual but expensive. The poor stand out in this setting.

The Scope of the Problem

Major problems which beset poor white children in school are not unlike those of other poor groups. Those who are poor suffer from one or more of the following handicaps:

1. Inability to read at their grade level.
2. An obvious lack of interest in the subject.
3. Unwillingness or inability to contribute to class discussion.
4. Varying degrees of inability to write.
5. An apparent low level of development in speaking and listening skills.
6. An apparent unwillingness to engage in activities which require reflection or thought.
7. Isolation from the middle-class kids.

Most of these handicaps can be found in any heterogenous classroom in America. The reaction of many teachers is to simply accept a wide range of differences and abilities in the classroom and aim toward the majority and neglect the rest. The most humanitarian teachers attempt to find the reasons for difficulties so that they might help students who are having problems. Such teachers, upon careful examination, may discover a great many reasons for learning difficulties. Although these may range from real lack of competence in skills to just plain boredom, a major reason, in every classroom, is the fact that some students have been poor all their lives. The poor constitute the single largest group of failures in the public schools. The white poor constitute the single largest group of poor.

There are twice as many poor whites than all the other poor combined. In 1976, the latest year for which there is complete data, there were 26 million people below the official definition of poverty in the United States (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1977) of which 17.9 million were white. More than half of these had some jobs in which they had earned some income during the year. Nearly five million of the poor whites lived in central cities in 1975. Indeed, there are a million more poor whites in the central cities than blacks. (The Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1977.) About the same number, five million poor whites, live in low cost housing in the suburbs. The rest, more than seven million, live in small towns and rural places. With one exception, the population distribution for the poor, regardless of color, is similar. There is a significantly larger number of poor whites living in suburbia than there are blacks and other minorities (five million whites compared to about one million blacks). Other than this exception, if one is poor and white, his nearest neighbors are likely to be poor and black or Chicano.

The statistics can't begin to tell the story of what it is like to be poor. Many poor children live with one working parent and must get themselves ready for school. Most have inadequate housing by any standard. A friend of mine described a poor white third grade girl she had in her class.

> *Christine never seemed to want to go home. I had to escort her to the bus every evening or she would have missed it. One day in October I forgot about Christine. Sure enough she missed the bus. I offered to take her home. She lived in a shack on the outskirts of town which really wasn't a building. It was made out of scrap lumber and tin. There were two rooms inside with a steel barrell for heat and no stove for cooking. The place was filthy and it smelled of urine. I didn't know people lived like that.*

All poor people, by definition, struggle for survival. If they share anything, it is " oppressers; credit dentists and credit opticians; credit furniture stores and credit food markets...stale bread and rank hamburger...Poverty spells the death of hope, the decay of spirit and nerve of ambition and will (*Time*, 1968)."

Poor whites, like blacks, have had serious learning problems related to their separateness, their isolation from the mainstream of society. The duality of socialization which Hale describes for blacks in this monograph also exists among the poor whites. For ethnic children whose parents came from Southern and Eastern Europe it was almost a triple socialization. The demands on the children were incredible. At home they were expected to speak the language and observe the cultural values and beliefs of the parents. At school it was English and the culture of an American school. With friends it was a "third culture" which varied from place to place but was a mixture all its own with its own values, its own language, its own rites of passage and its own rules (Selakovich, 1978).

The duality of culture still exists for poor white children. Like poor blacks or poor Chicanos or poor Indians, poor whites have their own peer culture, complete with lifestyle, language patterns and rules of the game.

It is tough to be poor, white or any other color in America. Yet the case can be easily overstated. It is a temptation for a middle-class professor sitting in an air conditioned office to conclude that the poor are in a condition of hopelessness from which they see no possibility of recovery. Not so, according to Leonard Goodwin of the Brookings Institution. In a study (Goodwin, 1973) of welfare recipients, Goodwin found that welfare recipients played down their failures in the world of work. Rather than deny important life aspirations, they tended to play down the negative efforts of not reaching them. Rather than deny the work ethic, they claimed they did not have what it takes to succeed. Goodwin claimed these adaptations may cause poor people to appear apathetic toward work when they are really apathetic because of fear of failure. What this means in terms of policy as Goodwin expressed it, is that the poor really do want to work and they really do want to improve their condition. What must be overcome is not their fear of work but their fear of failure. It may be that this is as true of school children as it is with their parents.

Supporting this thesis for children is the massive work of Robert Coles. In one of his reports, Coles (Coles and Piers, 1969) provides a glimmer of hope for the children of the poor in his brief account of "Six Hitler Orphans." Coles related the story of six young children who had been rescued from a Nazi concentration camp and taken to Hampstead Clinic in England. These children had spent their earliest years in what Coles described as "a setting that resembled hell rather than any home." They had little food, shelter and no maternal care. Yet they were brought back. In Coles' words: "They were made truly alive and human again by an almost total kind of dedication and skill...More important, the work of the Hampstead staff with the Hitler orphans shows that children who are retarded early because of neglect can respond to treatment (Coles, p. 93)." Throughout his work Coles finds great strength in children who face the daily crises of prejudice and poverty.

So there is hope for the poor in America. Surely enough desperately poor whites have somehow managed to struggle up from the bottom to document that hope. Yet the task is great and the schools have largely failed in their promise. What follows is a look at the nature of this failure and what might be done about it.

The Learning Style of Poor Whites

It is this author's view that to identify a "learning style" for poor whites is to stamp them with another badge of inferiority. Others who have written in this monograph imply in their work that there may be different learning styles for blacks, Chicanos and Indians than for whites. Bloom is cited (Bloom, 1976) by JoAhn Weaver Brown to make the point that certain styles of learning suit different groups better than others. Bloom's major classifications of learning styles are "cognitive", "group interaction" and "psychomotor activity." Cognitive seems to refer to more or less traditional modes of instruction on skills and facts. Group interaction and psychomotor activity are self-explanatory. The problem with Bloom's analysis is that it is a classification system and as such has the inherent evils of any system of classification. Teachers can be terribly misguided when they apply formulas to the learning problems of poor whites.

It would be difficult to assert that lower class whites have an identifiable learning style. It seems reasonable that the learning style of poor white children would vary greatly among the population. It is also reasonable to assume that any given child would, at times, respond to cognitive teaching style and others to group interaction and still others to psychomotor activity. Trying to relate socio-economic class and learning style is nonsense. Undoubtedly, some rich kids can learn better through psychomotor activity than through memorization of facts. Some poor kids would rather spend their time memorizing spelling words than getting involved in a group discussion. To assume otherwise, that there is a special kind of learning style and thus, teaching style that is best suited for the poor is just another form of inferiority labeling. In practice it can result in segregation of the poor, special and often inferior treatment of the poor, and an incipient form of stereotyping.

Much of what passes for research which demonstrates the learning styles for blacks, Chicanos or Indians as different from whites, might be more accurately stated as: "learning styles for poor children are different than learning styles for middle-class children." Even this conclusion is open to serious question. It would be easier to support the proposition that the schools take talented poor kids and *create* problems for them. This argument is not meant to gloss over very real differences in culture which may have some impact on learning. However, many of the differences which are researched and cited are not so much cultural differences as they are studies of different methods. Thus Cortes' reports that Ramirez and Castenada found that "field sensitive cognitive" style works better for Chicano kids than a "field independent cognitive style." Yet the description of the "field sensitive cognitive style" looks very much like formulas for good teaching for all children that have been around; at least since John Dewey's *How We Think*. Indeed, neither Descartes nor Socrates would have been unfamiliar with the "field sensitive cognitive style." The point, of course, is that what is good teaching and good human relations for blacks, Chicanos and Indians should also work for poor white kids.

The research which exists on the learning problems of minorities and the poor suggest classroom practices and strategies not unlike those long recommended as sound for average and better-than-average students regardless of their socio-economic group. Kenneth Clark's warning against special treatment for identifiable minorities may still be valid. In *Dark Ghetto*, Clark listed several assumptions which he felt were "primarily an alibi for educational neglect and in no way a reflection of the nature of the educational process (Clark, 1965)."

These assumptions include the following:

1. That each child should be educated to the limits of his own needs and abilities.
2. That working-class children and middle-class children need a different kind of education.
3. That culturally different students cannot be expected to perform well in the classroom.
4. That there is a direct cause and effect relationship between socio-economic status and certain psychological problems.
5. That it is possible to predict academic success from the IQ score.

Clark said that following these assumptions led to"subtle forms of social class...snobbery and ignorance." Is there an experienced teacher anywhere who has not seen these myths in operation? These are lines you can hear in any teacher's lounge any day of the week: "Johnny can't be expected to do well because he really has very limited ability." Or..."I'm just going to pass him to get rid of him, he already has a job." Other often heard remarks: "That kid shouldn't be in my English class, all he wants to do is fix cars." "You would really expect those kids to have problems, have you seen where they live?"

The trouble with these teachers is that they are "the best of people", they have "good intentions", they are respected and revered by administrators and parents and they have tenure. Their good intentions are demonstrated in workshops and inservice programs. They eagerly thrist for"something that will help us work with the kids who can't read" or "tell us exactly what we can do to help those poor souls". Or the favorite: "don't give us theory, give us some practical things we can do in the classroom today". What they want, of course, is a reaffirmation of their prejudices about these kids. They would love to treat them separately and differently. They enjoy singling them out for special treatment. They enthusiastically send them to "specialists" to get them out of their rooms. They like "formulas" and "lists" so that in a few minutes they can find out what Chicanos are really like, or blacks, or poor whites. Thus any serious effort to identify learning style for poor whites would not only be difficult but counter-productive.

It's Not Learning Style, It's The School

The real problems with poor whites is not what they bring to school with them, it is what happens after they get there. For the teachers and students the myths tend to become the realities of school life. Teachers believe them and the kids ultimately come to believe them. That's why so many of them leave school. The Children's Defense Fund report, *Children Out of School in America*, reported that nonenrollment in school was a serious problem among the poor. In a national survey made in 1973 and 1974 the Children's Defense Fund found that 5.4 percent of children aged 6 to 17 were out of school for at least 45 days and that almost 20 percent of 16 and 17 year-olds were not enrolled. Approximately one-half of these were poor white children (Children's Defense Fund, 1974).

Children stay away from school for lots of reasons, the least of which may be because of problems created by poor white culture. They stay away because the people at school don't want them. They stay away because the school tests them and tracks them and groups them. From the beginning the school brands them as incompetents, poor, troublemakers and children without a future.

They also stay away as Cottle (1976) points out because of school policies. These include rules against pregnancy (which exist in spite of their questionable legal status), rules on dress and rules on supplies and materials which must be purchased. In addition there are humiliating practices such as color coding "free" lunch tickets for the poor (as if the other kids didn't know who was poor). Some are out of school because they cannot pay for the bus ride. Of course these are not just white poor, but many of them are.

Wagner (1977) provided some insight into problems created by the school culture for poor whites in Appalachia. The most serious problems with Appalachian teenagers who have moved into Cincinatti from rural areas were absenteeism and quitting school. According to Wagner, the children were often kept out of school by parents to tend younger children, but more significantly, students who felt threatened in school and stopped attending to avoid conflict were supported by parents in this action. It is easy to characterize this as a "cultural trait" when in reality it could be merely a reflection of a concern on the part of parents for the safety of their children and a simultaneous realization that they are helpless to change the school situation. Middle-class parents, when faced with school situations in which their children are threatened, can send them to private schools.

In many ways it is the culture of the school, not poor white culture, which creates problems for poor whites. When there are thirty kids in the classroom and the teacher can't teach them all, who is neglected? Very often the kids whose parents have no power — the children of the poor. How often do the children of the poor serve on the councils of student government? Write for a newspaper? Work in the school annual? The children of the poor can't go home and get dad's movie camera and make a home movie for a report in class. His parents don't run to the store to buy him materials for a poster he has been assigned. He's a loser, a poor kid in a rich environment.

Indeed, poor white culture in itself may not be a serious learning handicap. First, poor white culture is difficult to define. The argument that the poor children must work to help support the family has weakened in recent years because increasingly more teenagers are working. In many communities teenagers from the middle-class have jobs for spending money while lower-class teenagers are unemployed. School people have decried a poor home environment among the poor, because poor students didn't have a place to study. Who studies anymore? It is possible to spend 12 years in public school and come out with good competitive skills without ever studying at home. Many have noted the bad attitude of the poor toward the school (Hickerson, 1967). Lots of students, rich and poor, have a negative attitude toward school.

So we can't blame the failure of the poor on their culture. We must blame it on the school. What school does to the poor is create the overwhelming feeling that they do not fit there. They do not belong; it is not *their* school.

Why The Problems Persist

Unfortunately, in spite of millions of words which have been written on the poor and their educational needs, in spite of billions of dollars which have been spent in their name, the educational problems of the poor persist. Perhaps they do because the problem has been incorrectly diagnosed. We have blamed the poor more than the schools. The prescriptions based on deprivation theory have not succeeded. There is, of course an incredible body of research which supports the theory that deprivation at home creates learning problems for children.

To mention a few of the better known efforts, Ausubel (1954) found that being poor had detrimental effects on visual and auditory discrimination and on language and concept formation. Bloom (1964) presented longitudinal data which suggested that the child develops 50 percent of his potential intelligence before the age of 4. Martin Deutsch (1971) found the lack of visual stimulation in poor homes a handicap in developing perceptual skills. Cynthia Deutsch (1968) discovered a noisy environment in the inner city caused children to tune out noises, including the teacher's voice. Logan and Wimberger (1969) found the language patterns of poor children to be a serious handicap in school.

The result of these and hundreds of other studies which supported the theory of deprivation was the development of social policy based on the premise that it was necessary to change the child dramatically even before he got into school so that he might successfully compete in school. Head Start, Follow Through, Foster Grandparents, and a plethora of compensatory programs were launched. Yet, after years of effort and billions of dollars, no one seems to be claiming they have the answer to the problems of educating the poor.

Perhaps the attack has been misdirected. Few would argue that middle-class and rich are better prepared for school than the poor. Few would deny that the things money can buy do provide an environment in which a certain kind of learning is facilitated. Thus it would seem that compensating the poor, giving them things the rich enjoyed is a fair and reasonable idea. But what if the attack was directed at the wrong target? Perhaps the target should be the anti-poor culture of the school rather than the children of the poor.

Some recent studies hint that the school setting is more important than home environment or social class in determining whether children achieve in school. Wilson (1963) found that school social context (general social class of the school) influenced school achievement in the Oakland, California area more than race, place of residence or the socio-economic class of the student. Levine (1977) supported these findings in other cities. Other studies (Alexander and Campbell, 1964, Laumann, 1965) indicate that peer groups have more influence over student achievement and aspirations than the home or family. In a word, there is evidence that the poor can succeed in school. Yet overwhelmingly, social class seems to be the variable which accounts for the greatest share of variation which exists in achievement in American education. What this suggests is that the schools are not for the poor.

Conclusions

Any solutions proposed for the educational problems of poor white children would depend greatly on one's theory of society. Much of this paper assumes that there is a basic core of values in American society upon which there is some general consensus. It assumes further that central to this value is the idea of equality and that the schools are in the most sensitive position of any institution in the society to promote or deny this value.

In order to place these assumptions in some perspective, the work of D.R. Watson would be useful. Watson (1976) described three models of the social order in an attempt to analyze what has happened in the United States and Britain regarding efforts to redress educational problems of the poor. These were labeled the "order consensus model" the "conflict model" and the "interactionist model." The order consensus model, as Watson explains it, assumes a general agreement on values and goals in the society. The institutions in the society, including the schools, all work together toward these consensus goals. The major role of the schools is to socialize children toward the common goals.

Those who believe in the conflict model do not see a stable and well integrated society but one in which there are conflicting vested interests such as social classes, religious and racial groups and so on. Conflict theorists do not want to be socialized but want the society to accept their goals. Schools are often seen as instruments that are used for indoctrination by the group or groups which have power.

The interactionist model is one in which society is described as a vast set of complex social interactions between people. The interactionist sees schooling as a process. Interactionists would not tell teachers or anyone how they should operate but would analyze what was happening in an effort to understand the processes and their outcomes.

The assumptions of this paper more nearly fit the consensus model than any others. Perhaps as much because of the weaknesses of the other models as anything else. The conflict model seems inadequate. Admitting that conflict exists, it is difficult to see its promise for the poor or for minorities. Given the great number of interest groups in the United States it seems unlikely that the conflict model will ever result in anything but temporary advantage for one group or another. This is an aspect of separatism that should be frightening to poor whites since they have such little cohesion or identity. Blacks, Chicanos and Indians who follow the conflict model are more apt to gain power at the expense of each other and their poor white brothers than from anywhere else. The interactionist model neither describes what is nor provides any real sense of what ought to be. It assumes a more patient and cerebral society than presently exists.

The models Watson describes are useful in helping us understand our ambivalance and confusion. National educational policy seems to straddle the consensus and conflict models. Mainstreaming, Head Start, Compensatory Education, Higher Horizons and so on are clearly consensus model activities. Black and brown studies, multicultural education, including such things as black art, black psychology, and bi-lingualism are based on the conflict model. Of course, for the white poor, there is no problem. The consensus model is their only hope for help.

Whatever theoretical model is used to describe it, the reality is that the poor are failing in American schools. Certainly a significant part of that failure is because of the particular culture of the school. It is unrealistic to think that the culture of the school can be changed in any revolutionary way. Perhaps this would not even be desirable, for the schools do many things which are necessary. They are, after all, the only game in town. One does, in a large sense, succeed or fail in society as he succeeds or fails in elementary and secondary school. What the school does for children when it is successful is functional. It teaches the young what they need to know in order to continue their schooling. Whatever one may think of the value of what the school does, it will no doubt continue to attempt to teach basic skills and content needed for further success in school and entry into the mainstream of economic society.

In this context one could argue that there is nothing wrong with the goal of changing children to fit the system. After all, education is supposed to result in change. It changes people who can't count into people who can. It changes people who can't read into people who can. The problem is that the poor don't seem to be able to learn these things as quickly and as well as the others, and we tried, in the past, to compensate by making the poor as much like middle-class as possible. Of course we have failed so far to do this, because the only real way to succeed is to provide them with middle-class incomes.

Short of this, what may be needed are some important changes in the school environment and the school culture. This is not a proposal to change what the school is charged with doing; that is, teaching certain well-defined things to children. What should be changed about the school is its anti-poor culture. Hatred of the poor, rules which operate to their disadvantage, being shut out of the political and social life of the school, being forced into isolated groups — these are the obstacles which make life miserable for the poor.

They can overcome their own "cultural deficiencies" if need be, for most poor people understand their own strengths as people, that given a chance they are as good as anyone. The work of Robert Coles and others shines with examples of the real strengths of the poor. What needs to be done is to remove the barriers, the social and economic obstacles. What needs to be done is to make the school "their place" as much as it is anyone else's.

Therein lies the difficulty. Blacks have made some progress as have Chicanos and Indians. It is more difficult now than a decade ago to isolate and mistreat minorities. They can yell "prejudice", they can invoke "affirmative action" and the people who run things know they can be taken to court. This is not to say that minorities have "arrived" in the schools. They still have a long way to go, especially the poor among them. But the poor white is truly invisible. There is often no one there to help.

What is needed is a recognition of what the real problem is; that is, a school culture which is antagonistic. Then something needs to be done to help the poor white survive in that antagonistic culture. Federal funds, in order to help the poor, need to go to the poor; really the poor, not to an official who works with the poor. Thus if some child needs some material from the store to work up a good report, somebody needs to buy it for him. In order to accomplish this, it would be necessary to have someone in every school building in America monitoring federal funds and acting in the interest of poor children. Every school needs a poor people's advocate.

Short of this, we have to continue to work on the teacher. Nearly ten years ago, in writing on this topic (Selakovich, 1970), I wrote the following description of the ideal teacher for the poor.

> *The ideal teacher...knows his student. He understands their lives outside the classroom and how those life styles influence their view of the world. He understands how their home life and the norms of their peers shape and develop their values...The ideal teacher has to understand what it means to be on welfare...what it means to be bullied and pushed*

> *around...what it means to be poor in a rich nation. The successful teacher...understands the poor on a gut level. He understands their emotions and feelings, and it helps a great deal if he can be sympathetic with them. Without this kind of understanding it is difficult to be flexible enough to be successful. It is difficult to be careful enough to avoid the unwilling but tragic insult. It is difficult to keep from being tuned out.*

After nearly ten years my own views have not changed. Unfortunately neither have school conditions for the poor.

From the literature available on Chinese America, what is *authentically* Chinese American is still nebulous. Here, Tong suggests a three-dimensional view for better understanding the Chinese American mind. Working from Old World antecedents, he examines Chinese values transformed and created on American shores. Two learning styles are distinguished from the characterological types that have emerged from these experiences. — One, the heterodox (warrior), and the other, the orthodox (victim). These two styles are said to explain Chinese American inference.

Warriors and Victims: Chinese American Sensibility and Learning Styles

Benjamin R. Tong

There has developed in recent years an increasingly popular conceptualization of styles of learning known as the "field independence—field sensitivity" perspective. Focusing on the Chicano or Mexican American experience, studies oriented around this point of view stress the importance of acknowledging the existence of qualitatively different cognitive styles in children from dissimilar cultural groups (Ramirez, et al, 1978; Ramirez and Castaneda, 1978; Canavan, 1969). Chicano children, particularly those raised according to more "traditional" Mexican-American values and lifestyles, tend to be primarily field sensitive. They organize experiences in terms of wholes or totalities, are sensitive to overall social context, and are more responsive to achievement through cooperative effort. Similar findings have been obtained for black and Native American youngsters (TenHouten, 1971).

By contrast, white Anglo American children tend to be field independent. They respond to events and objects independentof context, organize information by paying attention to parts, are more competitive and "task centered," and are not as preoccupied with the presence of adult figures (Ramirez, et al, 1978). "Culturally distinct socialization styles" appear to lie behind these differences in learning patterns. Dyk and Witkin (1965) found field sensitive children to come from homes with strong mother-child relationships, in which emulation of conventional adult behavior is stressed early in life and individual identity is grounded in respect for, and obedience to, traditional and authority figures. White middle-class

page sixty-nine blank

children, along with Chicano children from homes with values more like those of whites, experience decidedly less identification with family and ethnic group, have mothers who do not stress respect for authority and tradition, and prize individual achievement as well as development of a separate sense of self (Ramirez, et al, 1978).

At this writing, the significance of these and related studies of learning styles for Chinese Americans cannot be ascertained. There has yet to emerge a comparable body of knowledge. However, whether one turns to "field independence—field sensitivity" or any other approach, the question of Chinese American learning style cannot be adequately dealt with apart from confrontation with a more fundamental issue: *Who* in fact possesses "Chinese American learning styles" and *what* are the unique cultural and historical *roots* of that kind of modal personality or social character?

While the researchers on Chicanos appear certain about the shape, substance and origins of 'traditional' and 'modern ' Mexican American culture, history, and sensibility, the literature on Chinese America has raised numerous questions. What is in fact authentically Chinese American remains an unsettled matter (Tong,1974a, 1974b, 1977; Chin, et al, 1972) . Until this problem is seriously addressed, replication of field independence/field sensitivity studies with Chinese Americans would shed little if any light on the meaning and dynamics of yellow learning styles. Such research would be conducted by individuals not unlike the proverbial neophyte psychotherapist who treats every client exactly alike, presenting a given set of 'symptoms' regardless of social and cultural context. He would assume that inability to concentrate, disordered thinking, and disoriented perception of time are, in every instance, necessarily indicative of 'acute psychotic reaction', when more thorough diagnosis might reveal the person to be madly in love or perhaps suffering from identity problems. Isolating Chinese American learning styles from the possessors of those styles and their unique universe of experience would mean looking at a behavior pattern in a similar kind of interpretative vacuum. Not only would the researcher misunderstand what he witnesses, but he may even do harm to Chinese American young people in the course of recommending to educators and mental health professionals "appropriate" ways of working with such patterns.

The present paper examines the Old World antecedents as well as the American roots of Chinese American culture and sensibility, particularly those experiences that have had a critical bearing on the formation of styles of learning. We will begin with a brief review of the literature, take a psychohistorical look at Cantonese society of the 19th century, proceed to crucial highlights in the 148-year history of Chinese America, and then conclude with a discussion of learning styles connected with characterological types that have emerged from these experiences.

Literature and the Chinese American

The existing literature on Chinese America, from the 19th century to the present day, has generally portrayed the first Chinese Americans as meagerly paid, industrious, compliant 'coolies' who sojourned from hinterland villages in the province of Canton (or Kwangtung) to America in search of quick fortunes. None of them had any intention of staying. Those who did, allegedly transplanted an essentially static, centuries-old Confucian way of life (Abbot, 1970; Barth, 1964; Hsu, 1971; Kung, 1962; Lee, 1960; Ritter, 1967; Sue and Frank, 1973; Sue and Kirk, 1973a, 1973b; Sue and Sue, 1971, 1972a; Sung, 1967; Yuan, 1963, 1966; Weiss, 1974).

We are to believe that Chinese America does not exist, that it is not a self-generating culture and way of life unique unto itself. Chinese Americans are reclusive and perpetually "unassimilable" foreigners in a country they refuse to "adopt," occupy, according to sociologist Stanford Lyman, (1974),

> *a unique position in nearly all the countries to which they have migrated because they have preserved a kind of cultural and institutional "extraterritoriality." Circumscribed by their own relatively closed communities, overseas Chinese live much of their lives out of touch with the host society. In a sense their immigrant colonies provide a living museum of 19th century Cathy....*
>
> *...the overseas Chinese have not fully adopted the culture language, and behavior—the ways of life—of the societies in which they have settled. (pp. 6-7, emphasis added.)*

Another social scientist, Melford Weiss (1974), affirms the alien status of yellow Americans and pities them for being strangers in their own homeland:

> *The Chinese are physically distinguishable from both the Caucasian majority and from other minorities. Their racial visibility serves to set them apart from other Americans and their separateness encourages*

> *sterotyping, prejudice, and differential treatment....Chinese community life today cannot be understood except as an expression of a heritage based firmly upon the tenets of Chinese cultural tradition. (p. 252).*

The individual psychology of Chinese Americans, moreover, has been variously described with such terms as "humble," "meek," "supplicating," "self-effacing," "gracious," "adorable," "obedient," "emotionless," "long-suffering," "passive," "docile," "imbecilic," "effete," etc. (e.g., Glick, 1941; Isaacs, 1962; Jones, 1955; Katz and Braly, 1935; Kung, 1962; Miller, 1969; Sung, 1967; TenBroek, et al, 1968). More recently, Sue (1973) observed in studies of university students that "Asian Americans...appear less autonomous and less independent from paternal controls and authority figures. They are more obedient, conservative, conforming and inhibited" (p. 144).

These notions, finally, have filtered down to school textbooks (Yee, 1973). Ruth Holland's *The Oriental Immigrant in America* (1969) summed up Chinese American history since the 1890s with the following observation:

> *Little by little, Americans began to see that they had nothing to fear. The Chinese did not compete for their jobs. They did not expect the government to help them when they were down and out. They were peaceable, law-abiding citizens. In New York and San Francisco, businessmen discovered that the small "Chinatowns" were actually important tourist attractions that benefited the entire city....*
>
> *Many Chinese-American fought valiantly in the armed forces of the United States. During World War II, China was our ally and helped us to defeat Japan. It became quite obvious that the Chinese Exclusion Act was unfair. Here were honest, hard-working, gentle people being discriminated against for no reason except blind prejudice.*
>
> *...It's hard to know whether the* meek, compliant *attitude of the Chinese helped them gain acceptance. Or perhaps their* tendency to withdraw *from the rest of the community prevented Americans from getting to know them and like them.*
>
> *They have not been "Americanized" as easily as other immigrant groups. But it has always been harder for non-white people to be accepted by a community....* (pp. 30-32, emphasis added.)

Intimately entwined with the image of the meek and mild sojourner is the perception of the contemporary Chinatown ghetto as a lingering artifact of an exotic Cathay just recently transformed by Maoist socialism. According to such popular, non-scholarly literature as the official welcoming brochure of the San Francisco Visitors and Convention Bureau, Chinatown is a "self-contained ethnic enclave" with "a colorful conglomeration of pagoda-roofed buildings, and lantern strung streets, elaborately ornamented with balconies and dragon-entwined lamp posts." The curio shops abound with "temple antiques, carved ivory, jewelry, rich Oriental fabrics, ceremonial robes,...tableware, Chinese brass hardware, novelties and a fabulous array of Chinese foodstuffs." "When the fog curls through its narrow alleys and the smell of incense and Oriental spices mingles with dissonant music from dimly-lit cellars, one is reminded of Asia."

This is the white supremacist fantasy of the ideal racial ghetto, modeled after novelist James Hilton's vision of Shangri-la, the transcendental colony detached from history and the rest of the world. Filmed in 1937 and remade in 1973 as a musical, "Lost Horizons" established Shangri-la as the terms of white acceptance for the modern yellow: Observe and honor self-imposed isolation in a world that is uninhabitable, remain irrelevant from the rest of human life, and live only to cater to the whims and tastes of whites.

The Chinese American, therefore, is little more than the humble and docile preserver of priceless art objects and the "knowledge" of centuries of sophisticated Far Eastern high culture. *A native of this country he/she is not.* In his research on Chinese American youth in New York City, Richard Sollenberger concluded: "These Chinese Americans are a minority group with an alien culture" (1968, p. 13).

When the Chinese American is not viewed as perpetual foreigner, exotic or otherwise, he/she is seen as passionately devoted to the business of "assimilating" into white middle-class America, or, more accurately, becoming the white supremacist version of "Americanized" Chinese. That this is expected is seen in the use of the concept of "assimilation" in numerous studies. Originally coined at the turn of the century by Robert E. Park as part of an alarmist theory on the "inevitable" contamination of Japanese immigrants, the notion became reified as a scientifically sophisticated construct for the study of race relations (Takagi, 1973). Behind its widespread use lies the assumption that "assimilation" is both desirable and possible (see, e.g., Louis, 1932; Lee, 1952; Cheng, 1953; Kwan, 1958, Yuan, 1963; Tan, 1968; Sung, 1967; Sue and Sue, 1971; Young, 1972; Feagin and Fujitaki, 1972; Weiss, 1974).

Psychiatrist Peter G. Bourne, a prominent figure in the Carter administration, sees Chinese Americans as social recluses just now emerging from voluntary hideouts and making a mad dash to embrace whiteness. "Content in the past to adapt by isolation and avoiding any attempt to become assimilated, many Chinese (meaning Chinese Americans) are now willing and eager to become absorbed into the mainstream of American life" (1975, pp. 276-277).

In summary, existing scholarship and popular mythology on Chinese America have been identical insofar as both have envisioned, in classic white racist terms. Chinese America is perceived as having no existence at all as a people with a history, culture, language and sensibility uniquely non-Asian and non-white American. Chinese Americans are *either* aliens *or* bogus whites, nothing more. The truth, of course, is that Chinese America does in fact exist, with a force and vitality that has yet to be legitimized. An entire people's experience and vision remain buried, however, beneath the institutionalized mystification of white racist imagery and writing.

The Cantonese Origins

A more valid frame of reference for looking at Chinese America, apart from the racist "either/or" (either yellows are alien Asians or imitation white Americans), would be one which I have suggested elsewhere as a "three-dimensional view" (Tong, 1977). Put simply, this involves considering (1) that which was *transplanted* from the Old World and left unchanged (e.g., notions of fanatical loyalty, emotional restraint, family anarchy, etc.); (2) that which was brought over and, in the process of interacting with an American social and political reality, *transformed* (e.g., the idea of the extended village family was transplanted but the form changed); and (3) that which was "*created*" on these shores through appropriation from other ethnic groups (e.g., Chinese American English expressions like "Longtime Californ'" and "Chinamans allawh same hep sabby!"). This conceptual framework is grounded, naturally, in the affirmation that Chinese Americans after eight to nine generations of existence in America are neither foreigner Chinese nor copycat white Americans, and certainly not some schizoid combination of both ("the best of the East and the best of the West"). We shall begin with the "transplanted." Derald Sue's (1973) explanation for his findings—that

Asian Americans appeared to be "more obedient, conservative, conforming and inhibited"—was

> *Asian cultural values, emphasizing restraint of strong feelings, obedience, dependence upon the family, and formality and interpersonal relations,...values in sharp contrast to (white) Western emphasis on spontaneity, assertiveness, and informality (p. 144).*

Yellow behavior consistent with the stereotype of passivity, constriction and timidity is an observable reality, but the interpretation of that established finding leaves much to be desired. There is ahistorical and acultural bias in much of the psychological research which reflect the naive proposition that "official" value systems are an accurate reflection of how people living under those systems actually behave. Charles Valentine (1974) declares that it is a "simple misconception" to assume that "people everywhere live as they do because they prefer their actual mode of existence and its consequences."

> *So we have come to suspect that either romantic ennoblement or unwarranted debasement of the subject is at work when a people's values are simply inferred directly from the surface aspects of their lives...the picture of the noble savage and the portrayal of the happy slave are equally suspect as unrealistic projections (p. 22).*

The majority of the estimated 450,000 Americans of Chinese descent trace their ancestry back to the southeastern Chinese province of Canton (Kwangtung), and to a ferociously independent people who, even after their conquest by the Chinese Empire (T'ang Dynasty, 7th century A.D.), continued to be what the Irish have always been to the British and what the Basque have been to the Spanish and the French: rebellious, individualistic, and volatile (Wakeman, 1974, p. 28; Wakeman, in Chesneaux, 1972; Teng and Fairbank, 1970). According to Vogel (1971):

> *Though Cantonese, northerners, and foreigners may differ in opinion as to the desirability of "Cantonese traits," there is widespread agreement among all groups about the nature of these traits. The unique pattern of feeling and thought that is shared by Cantonese is a pattern which derives from their long commercial heritage. Cantonese are worldly men of affairs, shrewd bargainers, knowledgeable in technology, frank in criticism, oriented to defending their own interests.*

> *They are quick, lively and clever in catching on to new skills.... They are individualists....*
>
> *The Cantonese are proud of their cleverness, quickness, worldliness, and technical skill, just as northerners and foreigners criticize them for their selfishness, hot temperament, crudity, and lack of restraint (p. 13, emphasis added).*

Is it possible that such "Asian cultural values" as emotional restraint, family loyalty and formality in relationships (Sue, 1973) could have held sway and shaped individual character in a world like that of traditional Cantonese society? The answer is both "yes" and "no." Let us look first at the intended function of these values. Sinologists are in general agreement that Confucian philosophy was exploited by the monarchy and scholar-official administrators as a device for social control of a numerically overwhelming peasant population in medieval China. Balaz (1964) has observed that

> *The scholar-officials and their state found in Confucianist doctrine an ideology that suited them perfectly...in Han times, shortly after the formation of the empire, it became a state doctrine. The virtues preached by Confucianism were exactly suited to the new hierarchical state: respect, humility, docility, obedience, submission, and subordination to elders and betters (p. 18).*

This, Balaz contends, was very likely the key to Chinese history. Capitalism, the buds of which "most certainly did exist in China, never came to flower" because of "the continued existence of the scholar-officials' centralized, hierarchical, and bureaucratic state." The peasant, unlike the serf of a medieval, pre-capitalistic Europe, was not able to "take refuge in free towns under the protection... of (an) autonomous bourgeoise" (1964, pp. 19-23). Schurmann and Levenson have emphasized the unprecedented longevity of this form of political control (1969, p. 89) that, by the time of the last dynasty (the Ch'ing, 1644-1911), manifested itself on the village level as the organizational principle off *pao-chia*. Through *pao-chia*, or "local order through mutual responsibility," the government and local ruling class manipulated the family system for political purposes (Fairbank and Reischauer, 1960, pp. 373-375).

The peasantry was so tightly controlled that even when they took part in revolt, usually against a discredited monarchy which has lost its claim to rule with Heaven's mandate, they did not rise up "from the ashes of the imperial ruin during or after periods of violent political change." Hsiao Kung-Chuan wrote:

> *(They) were never masters of the movements in which they participated. They did not even choose their leaders....Many of the rank and file of the rebel armies died as nameless casualties, whether their movements proved fruitful or abortive; and when their movements succeeded in overthrowing the existing government, those that survived the battles and hardships became objects of control under the new regime (1961, p. 510.)*

The orthodox or official value system as applied in particular to the peasantry was Confucianist for the most part, with touches of popularized Buddhism and Taoism. Viewed schematically, Figure 1 shows the relationship between demand and reward in Ancient China, as viewed by orthodox peasants:

Figure 1
The Orthodox Peasant Value System in Ancient China
Levels of Ideology

	Virtue or Value	**INTRAPSYCHIC (Self) Repression of "negative" emotion**	**INTERPERSONAL (Others) Unquestioning Acceptance of Authority figures as "infallible"**	**INSTITUTIONAL Submission to "uncontrollable" circumstance**
	Appropriate Behavior	Restraint of anger and hositility yun	Unconditional obedience tieng gow	Transcendental resonse to adversity tai hoi
MAINIFEST IDEOLOGY	Reinforcing Theme (Payoffs)	"Infinite restraint reaps inevitable rewards" bok yun bien sing gum	"Loyalty to social relations is most deserving of esteem" boh ga	"It is better not to confront unchangeable fate" muut yao bon bon
LATENT IDEOLOGY	"You are to make every effort to remain ignorant and immobile in the face of exitsting reality".			

First of all, that self was stable and mature which observed the virtue of repression of certain emotions assumed to be essentially negative in nature. This was affirmed by *yen hei* or restraint of anger, hostility and resentment. Secondly, the highest value in social relations was the unquestioning acceptance of authority (*tieng gow)* as infallible. The well-functioning individual assumed the correctness of well-defined hierarchical relationships in a "vertical" society wherein sons were to show filial piety; young brothers, respect; wives, obedience; younger men, deference; and subjects, loyalty. These deferential roles were matched, at least in theory, with appropriate reciprocation from above: fathers showed kindness; elder brothers, nobility; elders, humaneness; and rulers, benevolence. Such were the requirements for the attainment of general harmony and true human welfare (Smart, 1969; Fairbank, 1974).

Finally, because the orthodox value system evolved from a pragmatic mix of Confucianism with other philosophies and religions, the Taoist virtue of inaction in the face of uncontrollable circumstance was taken to define one's proper relationship to the social and political universe. In the face of adversity, *tai hoi*, or a "transcendental response" was usually called for, since the most positive outcomes were possible only if one knew better than to tamper with an essentially unchangeable Fate.

Justifications of social philosophy aside, what lurked behind the official value system was, as Balaz (1964) and others have pointed out, the unspoken requirement for the peasant to keep his place. Lichtman (1974, 1976) has indicated that members of a society are conditioned not only by its "manifest ideology," or that which a culture would have its people believe and live by, but even more profoundly by the very structure of social and political conditions, which maintains a "latent ideology" not readily available to conscious articulation. A prime example of the development of such "false consciousness" in savagely competitive Western society may be found in the unwritten policy of schools to teach children how to hate, as R.D. Laing (1967) has put it, "without appearing to do so, for our culture cannot tolerate the idea that babes should hate each other" (p. 69). To the extent that "acculturation" is successful, well-functioning Americans operate under the Orwellian illusion that competition is cooperation, and cooperation, competition.

With this in mind, we can propose that the traditional values of Confucian orthodoxy constituted a manifest ideology supported by the Chinese citizenry, while the structure of the social order contained the hidden message of a latent ideology: "You are to make every effort to remain ignorant and immobile in the face of existing realities." In short, "know your place and stay in it." Along with a well-defined, interlocking system of institutional consequences for breach of the dominant ethos, intrapsychic reinforcements insured the sovereignty of Confucianism in the individual person, who was held in highest regard for an emotionally-impounded, non-autonomous style of life. This internal imperialism became so resistant to change over the centuries that the present Maoist regime has felt compelled to levy direct attacks on the very memory of Confucius himself!

Getting back to the original question, given the tenacious entrenchment of Confucian values, how might one account for the aggressive, individualistic and volatile sensibility of the Cantonese? We can begin by looking at two important variables, namely, *incomplete acculturation* and *perpetual social instability*.

Because the ancient Chinese of North China—the Han people— did not succeed in absorbing a previously conquered Kwangtung (by Ch'in Shih Huang-ti, in 214 B.C.) until the T'ang period (seventh to tenth centuries, A.D.), the natives of the region, the so-called Yueh aborigines, were long in possession of a highly independent and sharply-defined Cantonese culture (Vogel, 1971; Lai and Choy, 1973).

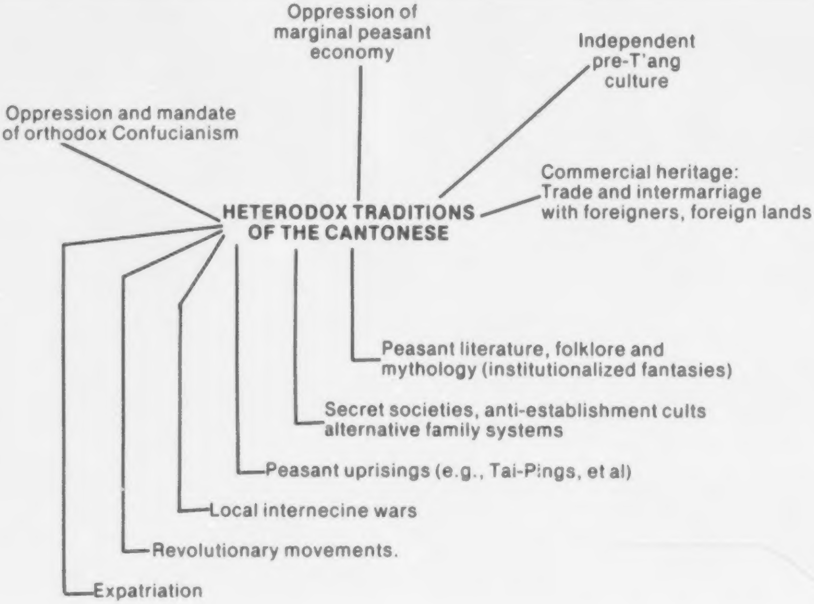
In addition, Cantonese trace their cosmopolitan origins back to centuries of constant exposure to foreign culture and ideas growing out of foreign trade that was theirs to enjoy exclusively, by imperial decree, from 1757 to 1872. Even earlier, the capital city of Canton boasted of a thriving population of "two hundred thousand Chinese, Arabs, Jews, Singhalese, Indonesians and Persians" at the height of the T'ang (Wakeman, 1974, p. 43). "The few Westerners who had contact with (these) Chinese had an enormous impact, first in uniting locals to resist their encroachments and then in encouraging heterodox thinking" (Vogel, 1971, p. 19).

Furthermore, while the oppressive rule of an absolute monarchy and orthodox Confucianism certainly made lasting inroads, the marginal existence of peasantry kept alive such uniquely heterodoxic Cantonese "traditions" as local internecine wars, peasant rebellions, revolutionary movements, and expatriation (see Figure 2). Time and again, consistent adherence to Confucian virtues was uprooted by the crush of unjust taxation, poor harvest, drought, population explosion and intolerable poverty.

For South China, and Kwantung province in particular, social and political instability was the basic given of everyday life. In Kung-Chuan Hsiao's (1961) monumental research work on rural China of the last century, we learn that entire clans were known to deteriorate from internal corruption, inept leadership, clan disputes and abrupt shifts in

89

Figure 2
Heterodox traditions of the Cantonese:
Sources and consequences


Oppression of marginal peasant economy
Independent pre-T'ang culture
Oppression and mandate of orthodox Confucianism
Commercial heritage: Trade and intermarriage with foreigners, foreign lands
HETERODOX TRADITIONS OF THE CANTONESE
Peasant literature, folklore and mythology (institutionalized fantasies)
Secret societies, anti-establishment cults alternative family systems
Peasant uprisings (e.g., Tai-Pings, et al)
Local internecine wars
Revolutionary movements.
Expatriation

socioeconomic tides, making it "impossible to insure a steady line of capable or ambitious offspring to carry on whatever 'glories' some of the progenitors may have achieved" (p. 359).

Stover (1974) has indicated, moreover, that perpetual powerlessness led peasants, perhaps in the name of maintaining personal sanity, to exalt individualistic self-seeking, thus paving the way for what he terms "family anarchy." We see this expressed in the worship of a popular household deity, Tsao-shen, the kitchen god.

> *Tsao-shen symbolizes the rightness and legitimacy of each conjugal family to pursue its own good with no concern for others in the same community. Indeed, the others are regarded as potential competitors. One family's gain is another's loss. If Tsao-shen acts as an agent of material prosperity, he must do so at the expense of others. Small wonder that he at the same time acts as a protector against demon possession. Fear of specters is a public realization that fellow villagers are capable of heartless competition and malicious envy (p. 129).*

While it was a limited phenomenon, whole clans turning bandit to rob and plunder was not unusual in rural Kwangtung, the ancestral home of Chinese American. In 19th century Canton, ''banditry was 'professionalized' to such an extent as to have become a highly organized lucrative racket, with several levels of operation'' (Hsiao, 1961, p. 462). According to a government official of the time:

> *...the evils of banditry obtaining in various localities of Kwangtung owes its origin partly to gamblers and smugglers. But there are cases in which it has been carried down from father to son. In other cases the inhabitants of entire villages go out to plunder...sell their booty openly in front of their ancestral halls, and distribute the money thus obtained to members of the entire clan (Hsiao, 1961, p. 462).*

Family anarchy and bandit clans bring to mind another characteristic of Cantonese sensibility. While the Cantonese are noted for a distinct warrior-like tendency toward independent, totally self-sufficient behavior, *loyalty* has always been just as important. In an unstable, hostile, anarchists society, loyalty, or who one could count on, was always on people's minds. *Autonomy by itself,* without interpersonal connections, was individualized madness which left the person vulnerable to attack from every conceivable direction, while *loyalty without autonomy* was pathos—one was then merely another man's man, and not a person in possession of his own life.

Here we see an instance of a principle that has been explored in the West by Karen Horney (1937), the eminent psychoanalyst who argued that inherent in white middle-class culture is a body of internally contradictory themes. Protestant Christianity preaches, for example, cooperation and self-giving love, while the so-called ''protestant ethic'' stresses dog-eat-dog competition. In other words, the same set of officially sanctioned values of a society can be interpreted and acted out in totally different ways.

In 18th and 19th century Canton, a heterodox set of meanings emerged around the orthodox value system, due in large measure to the constant erosion of the credibility of Confucianism in the face of indigenous Cantonese culture, foreign ideas, a marginal peasant economy, constant social unrest and anarchistic upheaval. For one thing, loyalty had two meanings. To those of an orthodox persuasion, it meant, of course, unconditional obedience (''filial piety'') to official authority as embodied in parents, village clan leaders, local and national governmental figures, and the emperor himself. Those who were not rewarded for (or who would not abide by) unconditional obedience, on the other hand, were very often given to *reinterpreting* the same value and expressing it in non-traditional organizational terms. In such instances, the heterodox meaning of loyalty was fanatical devotion to a voluntarily selected group or cause.

Appealing to the notion of a "horizontal" society of mutually loyal equals as provided in the story of the Oath of Peach Garden — in which Kwan Kung, the god of war, forges a spontaneous alliance with two other warriors, Chang Fei and Liu Pei (Yang, 1967; Wright, 1960; Bush, 1977)—alternative family systems sprang up all over China, especially in South China, each proclaiming continuity with the true, original spirit of Confucianism. These heterodox groups included secret societies, religious sects, martial arts schools, and political movements. A dramatic example is the organized movement against marriage established by Cantonese women.

> *For approximately one hundred years, from the early 19th to the early 20th century, numbers of women in a rural area of the Canton delta either refused to marry or, having married, refused to live with their husbands. Their resistance to marriage took regular forms. Typically they organized themselves into sisterhoods. The women remaining spinsters took vows before a deity, in front of witnesses, never to wed. Their vows were preceded by a hairdressing ritual resembling the one traditionally performed before marriage to signal a girl's arrival at social maturity. This earned them the title "women who dress their own hair,"* tzu-shu-nu. *The others, who were formally married but did not live with their husbands, were known as* pu lo-chia, *"women who do not go down to the family," i.e., women who refuse to join their husband's family. (Topley, in Wolf and Witke, 1975, p. 67)*

In these contexts, loyalty was given freely, voluntarily, and *on one's own terms.* At the same time, that very same loyalty could be withdrawn at any moment. In the popular, "folk," or unlegitimized traditions of the Cantonese, this was the only kind of loyalty deserving of admiration and emulation. The legend of the very popular warrior-general, Yueh Fei, provided the classic model:

> *What he revered was the model emperor, composite image of all the model emperors of the past, the saint of immaculate virtues—an image that had been built up by successive generations of Chinese political philosophers. This emperor image coincided with the actual Emperor*

> *Kao only accidentally. In the case of Yueh Fei this incongruity meant, however, more than the implicit tension between the ideal and its actual representative. He himself strove to be a model and exemplar, and his loyalty was attached to the emperor only in so far as he was, in the eyes of Yueh Fei, a model and exemplar. To those manifestations of the emperor's character and the emperor's will that could not be thus designated he owed nothing. Loyal to his own ideals and goals, and confident of the power of his army, Yueh in his responses to imperical commands frequently came close to insubordination. It is little wonder that an autocratic emperor like Kao-tsung had little use for Yueh Fei's kind of loyalty. (Wilhelm, in Wright, 1962, pp. 156-157, emphasis added.)*

The heterodox system, then, was the cathartic "flip side" of Confucian orthodoxy. It was both a reaction against as well as an extension of the latter. One was in conflict with the other, but all the while both were viewed by their respective adherents as continuous with Chinese tradition. Those who would not tolerate perpetual powerlessness took matters into their own hands, as autonomous individuals in league with like-minded others, while those faithful to widely taught orthodox values very often tolerated centuries-old abuses. In citing the report of a government investigator, Hsiao (1961) leaves little doubt as to the brittle credibility of Confucian orthodoxy:

> *...A recent account depicts conditions in the country of Li-ch'uan, Shensi: "For three hundred years, the adult males in our* tsu *(clan) never exceeded thirty. Living between two big* tsu *being poor members of the intelligentsia who have been agriculturists for four generations and teachers for three, they could not help being bullied and insulted by the big* tsu *...Year after year, month after month, (members of the big* tsu *come to borrow money. If you ask for a return of the capital only, you still are abused. If you don't lend money, they come to steal.... When they abuse you, bow your head; when they hit you, don't turn the blow. Your wife and daughter you have to let them violate. Without money do not go to court."*(p. 368)

Sanction and validation for the heterodox Cantonese sensibility took the personified form of Kwan Kung, after whom Yeuh Fei sought to model himself—the total soldier, hero of China's most popular novel and opera, *The Romance of Three Kingdoms*, and the most popular role model and deity of the people. A general of the Han, Kwan Kung was elevated to titles assigned him by the powerful and powerless alike: god of war, god of plunder, god of literature, god patron protector of actors, patron of high executioners, the Buddah who defends the realm to the Buddhists, the official high King of Military Pacification to the Taoists; the official equal of Confucius by Manchurian decree, god of loyalty, righteousness and justice, embodiment of revenge (Chin, 1978; Yang, 1967; Wright, 1960; Bush, 1977).

For the Cantonese, the only metaphor for life is war. From their heterodox traditions, actual Cantonese social and political history, and our understanding of the Cantonese sensibility as ferociously independent, aggressive and volatile, it is clear that everything a Cantonese does is tantamount to a warrior's act. To be sure, this is not as barbaric a phenomenon as it may sound to Western ears, because (1) it does not mean murderous violence in every instance; (2) it is not amoral, for the highest moral law—the only moral law— is that one must keep his/her word; and (3) it is not to be equated with the narcissistic individualism of the West because the individual is preoccupied with loyalty and does form (frequently spontaneous) alliances.

One is born and one dies in war. One never wins the war but that is life. The only genuine source of dignity and self-respect—indeed, the only reliable means for survival—resides in the achievement of a warrior's autonomy. Contrary to scholars like Rose Hum Lee (1960) and others who have depicted Chinese and Chinese Americans as the product of the "genteel cultural uniformities" associated with orthodox Confucian values—which are presumably noted for a distinct "lack of candour, boldness and bravery—attributes associated with masculinity" (p. 140). Recent oral history research has revealed strong remnants of popular heterodox culture in contemporary Chinese American childrearing practices. In particular, we have noted the existence of certain recurring expressions employed by parents of Cantonese American children.

Gu jierh ("Watch it!" Be careful!") is applied as a general approach to the world beyond the immediate circle of trusted others, while *yen hei* ("Restrain your life energy!") assumes the not-so-Confucian meaning of conserving one's own strength and resources in order not to be vulnerable to exploitation or attack. At the same time, these are to be balanced with *see ha* ("Give things a try!" "Take risks!"), the ultimate extension of which is, according to social psychologist Robert Chin (1977), *jawk jierh*. Literally translated, *jawk jierh* means "to catch a pig" but amongst Cantonese and Cantonese Americans, the expression stands for outmaneuvering, cheating, hoodwinking or taking advantage of another person, situation, or institution. (Tong, 1974b)

These themes have been aimed at the development of total autonomy and self-sufficiency in the individual child, who, it is always assumed, must contend with an essentially indifferent and hostile world. The central emphasis is to train the youngster to look after himself and, like the mythic Chinese warrior role models of old, to rely on no one, to trust nothing that cannot be counted on, and, above all, to always keep one's word.

This applies to every conceivable issue and circumstance in life, including emotional problems. Powerful, untidy feelings are to be managed entirely on one's own, without counsel or solace from other people. Turning to family and friends is a final recourse but here we have a paradox: one can always call on significant others, yet they are in fact to be regarded as the absolute last resort. An alliance or friendship carries with it the right to casually invade each other's privacy but this is not to be abused. *A sign of love, therefore, is never having to make demands. One takes care of one's own, beginning with oneself.*

Naturally, as might be expected, this rather severe style of childrearing and relating frequently resulted in the creation of arrogant, cocksure, untrusting, and mildly neurotic individuals. Those who do not come through psychologically intact very often exhibit symptoms that Sue and Sue (1971) found in yellow male college students: "blunted affect, dependency, inferiority feelings, ruminations, somatic complaints, and lack of social skills," all pointing at times to a variety of "pseudoneurotic schizophrenia." These traits, however, are also grounded in the experience of institutional white racism, as well as the lingering but persistent influence of orthodox Confucian values.

American Roots of the Chinese American Sensibility

It was indicated earlier that for Cantonese and Cantonese Americans, the metaphor for the human predicament is war. And war was one of the seminal forces encouraging Cantonese immigration in the 19th century. China had been wracked and pillaged by war with the Western powers as well as by internal strife. Furthermore, from the moment the first Cantonese landed in America, they were in a state of war. Whites referred to them as an "invasion," a "yellow peril" against which some kind of exterminating "crusade" had to be mounted (Dooner, 1880; McLeod, 1947; Choy, 1971; Sandmeyer, 1973). These forms of expression were so popular that Congress passed a series of immigration laws that singled out the Chinese by name for systematic exclusion (Low, 1974; Lai and Choy, 1973).

The record of astounding Cantonese achievement in 19th century American mining fields, farm lands and railroad projects has been more than adequately documented in numerous works (Choy, 1971; Hansen and Heintz, 1970). What is significant for our discussion here is the misleading racist "history" of the yellow response to white persecution. Lee (1960), for one, concluded that because they were "largely unsuitable for a highly competitive, masculine-oriented (white American) culture, the first Chinese Americans "turned their hostilities inward...." (p. 140). The bulk of the established literature, as I have suggested, paints a picture of glorious docility and passive resistance—the pathetic Chinamans were "mistreated," "driven from" their rural communities, and "harassed" to no end.

If one were to subscribe to the naive notion that official values of a society are directly reflective of modal personality, then the argument of Chinese America being continuous with the obsequious social character of orthodox Confucianism is tenable. But the historical record, upon closer examination, refutes that perspective. Chinaman behavior in the mining districts was anything but timid (Hutchings, 1855; Conwell, 1871; Borthwick, 1917). At the height of the "coolie" slave trade of the late 1800s, 410 Cantonese men aboard the American ship, *Robert Browne*, revolted and killed the captain and part of the crew (Campbell, 1923). An 1888 report of the U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries stated that there were "fights between (white and yellow) fishing fleets." Despite a long series of discriminatory laws that forbade Chinese fishing activity,

> *. . . The Chinese pay little attention to any of the established rules, but persistently fish with trawls and all other gear known to the race, and in consequence of this constant violation of fishing laws there exists a very bitter feeling between the two classes, and frequently severe altercations take place. . .*

Mock Sai Wing, better known as Mok Duck, a mafia-like "godfather" in east coast Chinatowns during the early years of the present century, actively exploited the meek-and-mild stereotype in order to manipulate the police and other white-dominated institutions to do his bidding (McKelway, 1951). The "Chinese colony" in San Francisco of the late 1870s was itself an armed fortress.

> *There were, first of all, the 'specials,' a trained corps of non-Chinese on the payroll of the Chinese establishment. In this context, the function of the specials—generally depicted as thugs hired to protect the gambling and prostitution rings—appears in rather a different light. Plenty of Chinese highbinders were available for the simple purpose of protection; what the specials were wanted for was to defend Chinatown against intrusions from the non-Chinese city surrounding it. But the specials were only one line of defense. The ghetto itself was armed. (Saxton, 1971,pp. 148-149)*

The first generation of Chinese America, in other words, was anything but the inhibited and compliant "chink" of popular fiction, newspaper cartoons, entertainments, dissertations, political tracts, religious meeting minutes and other media that perpetuated white supremacist fantasies. They fought to sink roots here because they took seriously the idea that America, particularly the Old West, was a country open to all people, a land up for grabs to those who would meet the challenge. Unlike the timid, sexless, expressionless "unassimilable sojourner" depicted by paranoid white racists,

> *They married women of their choice (or tried to), started businesses, sent for families (when they could), even developed whole towns of their own. Would the whites have demanded that 'The Chinese Must Go!' (even before the coming of the yellows) and mounted one piece of exclusionary legislation after another if the Chinamen were going to leave after completion of their extraordinary projects? No, the Chinese came to stay. (Tong, 1974a, p. 187)*

Workers' strikes of every imaginable variety, so-called "isolated" instances of Chinaman boldness and daring, stubborn attempts at rebuilding rural yellow settlements destroyed by whites—these and countless other unlegitimized *facts* of Chinese American history bespeak of a heterodox Cantonese sensibility that was transplanted firmly on these shores in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Yu, 1972; Lai and Choy, 1973: Chinn, et al., 1969: Chin, 1972; Saxton, 1971, pp. 9-10; Ourada, 1952). Wherever they went, Chinamans (as they originally referred to themselves) set their own terms for transactions. Dillard (1973), for example, discovered that Chinaman "Pidgin" English was the *lingua franca* whenever white railroad foremen, court reporters, cowboys, sightseers and businessmen interacted with yellows.

> *There is . . .some reason to believe that the average resident of the West in the times around Gold Rush days found Pidgin either very useful or absolutely necessary. (pp. 171— 172)*
>
> *. . .Pidgin English was the medium of business between American (i.e., white) and Chinese, some of whom were bankers, merchants, and importers. (p. 172)*

Remnants of the heterodox/warrior sensibility continue to pulsate in the life of contemporary Chinese America. We have already mentioned childrearing practices and styles of relating. The latest wave of Chinese immigrants has reinvigorated the once popular practice of placing statues of Kwan Kung and Tsao-shen (along with Kwan Yin, the goddess of compassion) in prominent places in store windows, kitchens, and living rooms. Chinatown movie houses, as always, continue to show mass-produced "heroic" films revolving around the themes of emotional restraint, fanatical loyalty and murderous revenge (Yip, 1977), with stories taken from loose interpretations of every imaginable bit of ancient Chinese history and folklore *except* the revered legend of Kwang Kung and the Oath of the Peach Garden (Eberhard, 1972, p. 11).

Furthermore, the "see ha-jawk jierh" tradition remains alive in the fact of Chinatown tourism.

> *Locked out of legitimate economic enterprise by white law, the Chinamen invented* fake Chinese culture *to survive. The men picked up, scraped up, whatever they could get their hands on and pushed it on whites as the essence of a sophisticated Cathay running clear back to neolithic Shang. That was the stuff of abalone shells becoming sacred religious artifact, "beggar's chicken" becoming gourmet fantasy, and garbage becoming "chop suey." All this, along with lies about underground tunnels, opium dens and dancing girls, was* heritage*— a legacy and history school books will not acknowledge and surviving Chinamen will not tell, at least not readily. Tourism emerged as a distinct if humiliating tradition in the culture of Chinese America. (Tong, 1974a, p. 190)*

We may now turn back to the question of present day Chinese American personality, before dealing with the matter of learning styles, and ask why even the most casual, uninvolved observer has noted yellows to be constricted, passive, timid, and generally expressionless, as a population and as individuals. First of all, we must consider the ultimate toll of the violence, trauma, and degradation of the anti-chinese movement: psychic debilitation and collective withdrawal (Chin and Chan, 1972: Chinn, et al., 1969; Kung, 1962, pp. 70-76; Lyman, 1974, chaps. 4-5). In addition, there was the lingering influence of orthodox Confucian values transplanted by periodic waves of immigration—values that frequently coexisted in conflictual tension alongside heterodox tendencies in the same person! Finally, Chinese American sensibility was pounded into its present shape by institutional white racism, most especially in the form of *organized Christianity* brought into the early urban Chinatowns by protestant missionaries (Sandmeyer, 1973; Sheperd, 1923) and mass media images.

Using opium as well as the Bible, white American and European missionaries attempted to pacify and take China but failed (Cohen, in Crowley, 1970; T'ang Liang-li, in Lutz, 1965, ,p. 52). In fact, many Chinese, true to heterodox leanings, feigned conversion in order to exploit "powerful foreign backing" for material or military advantage (Panikkar, 1969, p. 292). In Chinese America, however, Christianity succeeded. Self-appointed white missionary rescuers of "wayward" yellow women stormed Chinatown brothels and homes and, in instances too numerous to be tabulated, effectively separated yellow men from their women, thereby striking a deadly blow, along with legislative racism, for the attempted destruction of the yellow race in America. The convert was taught to pattern himself/herself after the role model of a passive and compliant Christ and to raise children of a new generation to be the same (Chin and Chan, 1972; Combined Asian American Resources Project Oral History interviews, 1970-1978). Today "Christianity is the principal religious faith for the Chinese in America" (Lee, 1977).

The transformation of the first numerically significant second generation of Chinese America was complete circa the mid '30s with the appearance of the image of Charlie Chan in motion pictures. Pressured by Congress to replace Fu Manchu, the maniacal, sexually perverted, white-hating villain of a score of movies in the 1920s—at a time when the Japanese were overrunning American factories and missionary outposts in China—Hollywood produced a "good" Chinaman, a yellow "hero" who spoke psychotic language (never speaking in the first person), exhibited no body language, and showed no sexual interest in women (Chin, 1970;

Chin, 1973; Chin and Chan, 1972). The well-behaved, effeminate "Chinese American" was born, and since that time has exhibited symptoms of mutual and self-contempt (Medved and Wallechinsky, 1976; Sommers, 1960, 1963, 1964), referred to whites as an unnamable cosmic force (Kung, 1962; Sung. 1967; Nee and Nee, 1973, p. 166), hungered for white acceptance (Hsu, 1971; Sung, 1967), displayed a general cultural and political silence in the face of racial discrimination of the most blatant variety (Fong, et al., 1973). One of Maruyama's collegiate subjects described a classic encounter between contemporary yellow and white that confirms this social and psychological reality.

> *One time in our discussion he (a white college professor) was talking about crime rates among the Orientals. He was saying how low the crime rate was and was wondering why. He looked at me as if I knew all the answers. He said that the Orientals were all goody-goody, no trouble with the whites— the stereotype Oriental people—that's what he was describing. He said they knew their place and stuff like that. He pissed me off, and when he asked me why we had a low crime rate I told him there were less of us. He got kind of mad, I guess, because he tried to cut me down with his remarks. Then he asked me how come Orientals would not rather steal—because of the family background, the Tong courts might get us, or because our ancestors would look down on us? He asked me those things, so I said, 'Who said I wouldn't steal? How do you know that I don't?' This went on in front of the class about five minutes. Another thing he asked me was, 'Would you try to rob a bank?' I told him I wouldn't because it would take a genius to do so. He said, 'Well, you better not then.' (1971, pp. 389-390)*

Learning Styles

Having established the not-so-obvious notion of characterological varieties of Chinese Americans such as the heterodox/warrior, the orthodox Confucian, the Christian convert, we now examine the learning styles which appear to go with each. The orthodox Confucian and Christian convert share a learning style directly reflective of the conviction that one has very little, if any, control over his life. Validation and approval ultimately come from without, according to "the time-honored Chinese way" or "God's will." One, therefore, tries hard to succeed but expects all along the way, the prospect of having to placate those with power of finally, giving up altogether. In Coleman, et al (1966), attitude survey data showed (contrary to the researchers' conclusions) that while Asian American high school seniors scored higher than whites in motivational drive (e.g., desires to be best in the class, three or more hours of study per day outside of school, no willful absence, desires to finish college, definitely planning to attend college next year, believes self to be brighter than average), a higher percentage of the yellows exhibited shaky convictions about ther ability to affect their own environments and futures ("Luck more important than work," "When I try, something or somebody stops me," "People like me don't have much of a chance," etc.). For this sensibility, that which is learned applies to one fixed set of circumstances, be it mathematics (a typical Chinese American college major) or church catechism. Eight times eight is always 64. Moreover, that which is learned, is sacred — truth cannot be altered— and there is, finally, no room for the operation of critical faculties, despite the 'finding' in Stodolsky and Lesser (1967) that Chinese American children apparently rank above Jewish, black and Puerto Rican youngsters in reasoning ability.

By contrast, the heterodox or warrior style of learning, as reflected in calligraphy and the martial arts, is less that of a victim mentality, and more the mind set of one who regards himself as the agent of events in his own life. One can shape what happens in one's life, and failure is not reflective of personal inadequacies.

In this instance, one learns through a process of *willful self-conditioning* or what Chin (1978) has termed *repetition-recitation-internalization.* This involves the direct training or education of one's own instincts or, put another way, direct cultivation of the unconscious. This is a concept that is generally alien to Westerners, including many Chinese Americans, for instinctual energy or drives are either to be 'understood', contained, or given up to God or the State. The classical Western view of psychopathology revolves around the image of being taken over by the power of instincts, which is synonymous with being "out of control." The warrior's way, is to give up power to oneself. All knowledge is reduced to instinct. With training, the instincts acquire several analogically related languages that are always available to the person for an infinite number of life circumstances. The instincts become 'wired', as it were, to respond strategically and tactically to every conceivable situation.

Calligraphy and the martial arts — still widely taught in Chinese American communities — involve the central concept or device of the "set." Unlike the Confucian-Christian method, what is learned, i.e., "sets," does not require absolute imitation or forgery. *Rules for perceiving* *form,* instead, are taught, with the empahsis on making well-informed movements and keeping parts in proportion to each other. Furthermore, what is learned in these "sets" is applicable to any conceivable circumstance. This allows for *play of imagination*, including the discovery of forms on one's own. The stress at all times is on form, speed, rhythm, control and precision. This style of learning, naturally, is active and aggressive, and acquired from within, while the other is passive and predicated on a kind of Pavlovian, externally administered method emphasizing imitation, forgery, and inflexible application.

In closing, I would say that such notions as "field sensitivity" and "field independence" are interesting and perhaps valid to some extent for yellows, but they do not have explanatory power once the historical and cultural complexities of the Chinese American experience are taken into serious account. There are features of both field independence and field sensitivity in our styles of learning, particularly in the heterodox/warrior style. One is always sensitive to the field and one also operates in ways independent of what forces in the field would have one do. The emphasis throughout is on *total control* of one's actions (independence), with that control based on a keen ability to *assess* or *understand* whatever situation one finds himself in (sensitivity). The basic supposition behind training according to "sets" is that one has the innate equipment to achieve just such an understanding of everything encountered in life.

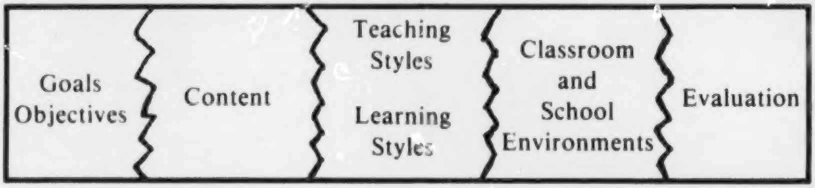
Hwang gives a schema for developing instructional units for diverse teaching-learning styles within multicultural classroom settings. While these exemplars represent broad outlines of units, the procedure used for their development is of practical value for teachers developing their own instructional plans.

Exemplars of Instructional Units For Cultural Diversity

Bette Hwang

This paper represents a practical approach to developing instructional units which consider the need for diversity of teaching-learning styles within a multicultural classroom setting. The units are not intended to be all inclusive. Instead, an outline of several units is offered which takes into account the uniqueness and educational needs of five cultural groups.

The components of any good instructional plan can be illustrated in this model:



The jagged lines imply the interdependence of the components and are intended also to present the plan as a unified whole. The boundary is drawn to suggest that it is permeable; that is, a variety of philosophical assumptions and understandings and beliefs about what knowledge is, the conditions of society, the individual as a learner and how learning occurs are infused into the instructional plan by its developers.

In attempting to develop an instructional plan which has a multicultural focus there are certain assumptions which have a greater influence than others. One is the concept of cultural pluralism and the other is cultural democracy.

To accept cultural pluralism is to accept that people of diverse cultures with significantly different patterns of belief, behavior, color

page ninety-four blank.

and/or language can coexist in a mutually supportive relationship (Grant, 1977). Believing in this, teachers are impressed with the need to affirm diversity by giving it recognition in the curriculum, by studying and comparing various cultural or ethnic beliefs and behaviors, and by acknowledging the contributions made by various groups to the growth and development of the United States, both historically and presently (Fersh, 1977).

Cultural democracy, as described by Manuel Ramirez (1972) is a philosophical precept which recognizes that the way a person communicates, relates to others, seeks support and recognition from his environment and thinks and learns is a product of the value system of his home and community (Ramirez, 1973). Further, cultural democracy implies, that children should be free to learn in the ways which are most effective for them. Teachers must provide alternatives so that there is an opportunity for every child to experience learning through individual styles which are most effective, and to be taught to make use of other styles for different purposes.

We now know that some students do their best learning interacting with others, some in lone study and contemplation. Some students prefer to learn a skill by manipulating concrete objectives, some by watching, some by listening, some by reading. Other students approach learning tasks systematically and methodically while others are more intuitive and global. These characteristic ways in which students use their minds are labeled by psychologists as cognitive styles (Cross, 1976).

Many research studies referred to in this monograph, relate cultural practices to learning styles, indicating that certain learning patterns are prevelant among different ethnic groups. Educators now realize a need to reconsider the emphasis placed on the set of learning styles that promote success only among analytical or field-independent learners.

As we come to understand more about cultural related learning styles, the old cliche of "begin with the child where he is" takes on a broader meaning, particularly in relation to learning tasks. Teachers need to be considering whether the task is an independent or a cooperative endeavor, whether a task is presented inductively or deductively, whether the materials used are object oriented or people/social oriented, whether the task is personalized or symbolized, whether the task is presented as self-discovery or is modeled.

As teachers develop the appended instructional units they should pay particular attention to the area of learning activities providing alternatives which will permit all students to have success.

Teachers are also encouraged to think of ways to represent multiple cultural groups within their units, particularly through the use of students, parents and other community members as resource persons.

All groups who worked on a selected unit from the Little Rock '78 multicultural inservice conference used the guidelines that follow. However, due to time restraints and other factors, many elements of the units could not be developed in detail. Each unit outline represents the core of a unit upon which any site could build, expand and/or embellish into a full blown detailed unit that is most serviceable to the children's needs. This is based on the accessable resources of that particular school.

The workshop participants are to be commended for the effort they put forth in developing the unit outlines. The finished products cannot represent the collaboration, the sharing of the multitude of ideas and the enthusiasm sparked in many as they worked on the task, without which a unit cannot be constructed.

Developing the Instructional Unit Plan

1) Select an appropriate topic for a grade level of students comprised of more than one ethnic culture.

   Ex: Communication 5th grade, multi-ethnic

2) Brainstorm to get everyone's perceptions of what the content of the topic can be.
3) Select the components of the content to be included in the unit.
4) Write one or more goal statements. What is the rationale for teaching this unit?

   Verbs: develop, know, understand, appreciate, familiarize, etc.

   Ex: To help students understand the processes involved in transmitting information. (one way)

5) Write one or more behavioral (measurable) objectives. What will students be able to demonstrate when they have completed the unit?

   Ex: Given a sample of information transmitted through one of the 4 mediums (T.V., radio, newspaper, magazine), students will accurately classify the information into one of the three types (factual information, entertainment, influencing behavior).

6) Do a task analysis on each objective. What are the skills involved in

the ability to perform the operational verb, i.e., classify, list, identify, analyze. What are the things a student has to learn in order to succeed at the task stated in the objective? These are called sub-tasks or enabling objectives. State them in measurable terms.

> Ex: Name characteristics of each type; be able to describe or locate representative samples of the three types; be able to distinguish one type from another.

7) Sequence the sub-tasks in the order in which they should be taught. Does the nature of the objectives suggest a sequence or an ordering to their instructional presentation:

Sequences can be based on different criteria.

simple to complex
concrete to abstract
specifics to generalizations or vice versa
past to present
problem oriented to solution
obvious to unexpected
minimum to maximum
personal involvement

8) Identify learning activities for each sub-task and main task. Some activities may cover more than one objective. Alternative activities must be provided for field-sensitive and field-independent learning styles. Include content which is culture sensitive. Make use of community resources when applicable. Any media or strategy selected should have a feedback system which reinforces the students' learning.

For this task conference, identify to the extent possible, specific resources like reading, fieldtrips, excursions, available.

In addition, discuss types of suitable activities and list them: ways to provide for group learning and independent learning, inductive and deductive learning, discussion and lecture, etc.

> Ex: Given a selection of information which is factual, students could be asked to write questions which could be answered by the information given. (similar questions would emerge of the who, what, when nature)
>
> Students could be told that factual information is characterized by answering who, what, when, where type questions and asked to find the answers to such questions in given selections.

Samples of content selected would represent several cultural groups.

Students favorite T.V. and radio programs can be included in the samples and sub-community newspapers can be used as well as larger ones.

ME Kdg.—1st grade

Goal: To help students develop and maintain a positive self image.

Objectives: Given the opportunity, the child will willingly volunteer information about himself to the teacher and to other students.

Given the opportunity, the child will show a willingness to share happenings at home and in his/her community with the teacher and other students.

Activities:

1) Keep a full length mirror in the classroom. Some students may want to try to make a self-portrait using marking tools like crayon, pencil, etc.
2) Trace each child's body outline on butcher paper then have a child cut it out. Clothes can be painted on the outlines. They can be used for size comparisons, to decorate the classroom walls, and to use as mounting backings for children's individual work.
3) Magic Circle — a guided group discussion format where children learn about themselves and each other, and in which they learn good listening and other communication skills.
4) My History — children will select magazine pictures that relate to him/her and the things they like to do, or have done. The pictures can be cut out and mounted and students could dictate sentences to go along with their pictures.
5) Students could make an autobiography. They could include pictures of themselves, other family members, pets, their home, favorite places in their community they like to play at or visit, including church, park, fire house, etc.
6) Sing songs that include the children's names.
7) Role playing — providing opportunities for children to play out alternate roles and to express feelings. Can include playhouse, large

T.V. screen behind which kids can perform, block corner, puppet theater, etc.

8) Use of audio-visual materials that relate to self -concept with follow up discussions.
9) Identifying resource people who can come to the school, from different cultures, who will do a variety of things like, talk about their jobs, tell stories, read stories, show students how to make something, etc.
10) Identify a bulletin board or set up a collection center where students can post notices of upcoming events or can bring things to display.

Materials:

Film— "The Most Important Person In The World:

Record— "Free to be You and Me", by Marlo Thomas

Books— *What Mary Jo Shared*, Ezra J. Keats
Come Play With Me
About Me

Evaluation: Teacher observation and maintaining check lists of the opportunities given for sharing, and monitoring the bulletin board or collection center for which things are brought strictly on a non profit, voluntary basis.

Foods 2nd grade

Goal: To develop an awareness and respect for food preferences of various cultures.

Objectives:

1) Given a choice of dishes, the child will demonstrate a willingness to taste new foods.
2) Given the opportunity, the child will participate in the preparation of various cultural dishes.
3) The student will encourage other students to try new foods.

Activities: This unit is intended to be an ongoing one to be given attention particularly on days of special recognition. The activities listed below are types of activities that would need to be more clearly defined in terms of the people and foods to be represented at any given time.

1) Construction of a recipe book including children's favorite new foods.
2) Use of experience charts that record shared experiences with foods in developing oral language and reading skills.
3) Finding out something of the history of the names of foods.
4) The singing of songs related to foods and the learning of dances related to harvest celebrations, etc.
5) Field trips to restaurants, special food stores, etc.
6) Using the bulletin boards for sharing information, experiences, vocabulary, etc.
7) Comparing how some foods are processed and preserved.
8) Using parents or other community people to teach children about preparing of foods and customs and traditions related to food.
9) Involving the cafeteria in preparing some foods that have been tried and can be recommended by the 2nd graders.

Evaluation: Teacher observation, teacher designed pre-post test to measure attitudinal change.

Art 6th grade

Goal: To foster an awareness of the varieties of art in different cultures and provide experiences in working in the various art areas in order to develop specific interests and self expression.

Objective: By the end of the sixth grade at least 80% of the students will identify different types of art and reproduce, create and replicate art objectives.

Procedure: Students will be exposed to different types of art so that they may appreciate the skills they themselves and others have developed. Individual talent is encouraged and a history of art is explored in order to broaden the students background.

Types of Activities:

1) Drawing and painting
    - charcoal
    - water coloring
    - pencil
    - crayon
    - tempora
    - construction paper
    - design
2) Crafts
    - weaving
    - macrame
    - stitchery

    Jewelry from beads, nuts

3) Sculpture
    - clay
    - carving

Resources:

- books
- museums
- filmstrips
- field trips
- films
- variety of art materials
- slides
- local resource persons

Evaluation: Teacher observation. Students participated in each activity and identified at least 1 of each type at which to become more proficient.

Students work will be placed on display in a fair type atmosphere.

Epilogue

Alfredo Castaneda
Stanford University

Now, where does this leave us? Where does this leave us as far as trying to understand, within the framework of education, cultural diversity in the United States? In what way can the various and distinct groups within the field of education — teachers, administrators, specialists in curriculum, supervisors of preservice and inservice education —derive implications that help them implement new developments in curriculum, teaching strategies, administrative policies, etc. Such change should occur in a manner that helps American public education move into the new era of making its policies and practices more consistent with the newer ideas of cultural democracy (Castaneda, Herold & Ramirez, 1974; Ramirez and Castaneda, 1974).

This new philosophy, cultural democracy, recognizes that prior to entering school, and as they continue through school, children are subject to culturally distinct socializing influences in the home and community. The culturally democratic view in education emphasizes the right of choice in honoring these ties with home and community. Educational policies and practices which undermine these ties with personally meaningful aspects of these experiences are culturally undemocratic. At the very least, the definition of professional competency must be extended to include more than knowledge of specific subject matters. Educational policies and practices must first become sensitive to teaching styles and interpersonal behaviors that characterize the socialization practices of different cultural groups. Equally necessary is a conscientious, concerted effort to understand the lifestyles, values and interpersonal behaviors honored by these cultures. Finally, an effort needs to be made for a framework which meaningfully identifies important differences in cultures represented in the classroom or the school in general.

Creating culturally democratic learning environments, while challenging, is certainly within the grasp of public education. A beginning cannot be made without abundant information concerning the language and heritage, values, and learning styles of culturally diverse child populations. This book, in my opinion, represents such an effort.

The following sections are more concerned with questions that have arisen from my own experiences concerning the process underlying this new development in public education. In order to illustrate these ideas I have prepared a rather simplified schema of the process:

Ethnic Specific Information → Information Processing → Inservice → Teacher.

On the basis of the above schema it can be seen that two intervening steps must take place in order that the classroom teacher can profit effectively from the ethnic specific information as far as developing new teaching strategies and modifying the curriculum. From my experience as a participant in a number of inservice training programs, more detailed attention is needed for the second step. That is, inservice training programs are so designed that the ethnic specific information is presented by means of a lecture to a gathering of teachers or the teachers are required to read materials relating to the interpersonal behaviors, linguistic characteristics, history, heritage, etc., presumed to be particular to a given ethnic group. Classroom teachers frequently complain that under this arrangement the materials are not practical nor presented within the framework of classroom realities. The following discussion suggests that such comments on the part of classroom teachers participating in such inservice programs reflect the undeveloped state of the art. The burden of processing the ethnic specific information under these state of affairs falls too directly on the classroom teacher.

It must be remembered that the social sciences in America, such as psychology, sociology, history, linguistics, political science, until very recently did not view the study of America's various ethnic groups as an enterprise of importance. Consequently, the information base from which education can draw is as yet limited. In the case of some ethnic groups the information is severely limited. A new generalization of scholars often having a base in one of the ethnic studies programs in colleges and universities have, within the last decade, been developing ethnic specific information. However, this bulk of raw information is often left unprocessed and needs to be molded into terms that are meaningful within an educational framework. This is because ethnic/cultural studies are generally written and developed by scholars whose primary interests, as psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, historians, etc., is in describing basic ethnic characteristics. Occasionally, such characteristics may be described within the framework of educational policy and practice, such as the work of Ramirez and Castaneda (1974) described by Cortes in Chapter 3. This is because of the effort of these authors to conduct their research relating ethnic specific information to classroom phenomena over a relatively long period of time. In other words, these writers developed a research program designed to develop ethnic specific information and through collaboration with specialists in curriculum development and supervisors of teacher training, processed this information in such a manner that its implication for teaching was clear — at least to the extent that new procedures could be tested out by teachers in the classroom.

Teachers often wonder if the "experts" providing input into the inservice process have ever been responsible for a classroom, (an implied criticism that would not apply to most of those professionals who specialize in curriculum development or the supervisors of inservice training). In my opinion, comments of this nature reflect on the inservice training process as it is often designed. Often the ethnic specific information has not undergone a processing especially by the professional specialists in curriculum development and teaching strategies. The background, experience, and training of these professional groups, along with the fact of their daily contact with the various processes and teacher personnel comprising education at the local level, seems to me, to be of critical importance. Concurrent with the new emphasis on inservice training in this country, these two professional groups should become focal elements of the teacher training process. Comments that "teachers do not read," that the value of what the "experts" have to say"goes over their head," "they are not interested," can be interpreted to imply the need for a greater clarification of the role of these professional groups in the inservice process.

The inservice process is still a befuddling and haphazardly conceived experience. It is a process needing greater analysis, reflection, and leadership. The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development — the major professional organization in the United States — is one potential change agent. With a membership of over 20,000 this group can mount a concerted program using its publications, journals and national institutes as seedbeds for revising the inservice process. As a consequence, its potential for impacting and mobilizing energy and resources on this fundamental problem is considerable.

Colleges of education are also potential sites for research and analysis of the inservice process. This considers the access colleges of education have in terms of research connecting them with other departments representing the social and behavioral sciences.

This book stimulates these attempts to clarify the inservice process on the assumption that the intent is to improve teacher effectiveness at the classroom level. The intent is completely laudable. The ethnic specific information provided by the authors reflects solid scholarship and a deep concern that American education must continue efforts to create culturally democratic educational environments. This political struggle must persist to help define an abiding American belief; equality of educational opportunity for all children.

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